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HORSE, foot and dragoons, Michigan Republicans routed our doughty candidate General who aspires to the Presidency. If General Wood knows a rout when he sees one, he must understand what happened to him in Detroit. The city is full of young Americans, skilled automobile workers, who experienced the draft. A regiment of them served in Siberia. They and the rest of the citizenry loaded their rifles to the muzzle when it came to the primary and they had unerring aim, with the result that they hit not one but several targets. They almost completely destroyed the Presidential boom of Leonard Wood; they indicated that the urban masses want no military man in the White House; they ended the carefully cultivated fiction of the metropolitan press that the American public looks with horror upon the action of the Senate Irreconcilables, and they made plain the disaster that awaits the Democratic party. According to figures at this writing 335,000 Republican voters went to the primary, while only 68,000 Democrats rallied to the aid of their chief in the White House. But this is not all that Michigan did. Democrats effectively stamped upon the Presidential aspirations of our Attorney General by giving him only 8,970 votes and letting him run well behind Hoover, McAdoo, and Edwards, all three of whom, curiously enough, polled something over 13,000 votes each. If this does not put an end to Palmer's effort to ride into the White House by saving the country from the Reds and trying to delude it into

thinking that violent revolution is at hand, we miss our guess. Bolshevism as a campaign issue goes on the shelf and with it will soon be laid the military candidate of Wall Street and the financial powers. As for Senator Johnson, his is a well-earned victory and he needs only a couple more such triumphs to be well in the front for the Republican nomination. Not often does a single election provide so many or such satisfactory results, not the least of which is serving notice on the Wood managers that buying nominations with great sums is poor business even when one campaigns in uniform. For all his money, General Wood polled only 96,000 out of the 335,000 Republican ballots cast.

PRO-GERMAN, poltroon, seditionist, traitor, base mis-representer of the spirit of the American people—let us see, what other names were applied to Robert M. La Follette? He was everything that an American ought not to be because he would not vote to plunge the country into war at Mr. Wilson's behest. And there was prophesied for him not only the ending of his career but its end in contumely and shame. All of this was in 1917. Now, three years later, the people of the State of Wisconsin have shown what they think of this man who stood by his beliefs during national hysteria by giving him nearly every delegate to the Republican convention from Wisconsin. The delegates for La Follette completely swamped his old antagonist, Governor Philipp, and that the Senator dominates Wisconsin as he never did before is now clear. We have no doubt that if no new candidate appears, the La Follette strength will be thrown in Chicago to Senator Johnson. This result of the Wisconsin primary is the more interesting because of the platform of the La Follette candidates. It opposed the League of Nations and denounced the treaty as a betrayal of the honor of the nation, favored a league for peace composed of all nations, and demanded the immediate restoration of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and all civil rights, besides opposing compulsory military service and peace-time sedition acts. It also denounced the Esch-Cummins Railroad law and the exiling of Reds except for crime proved in court.

THADDEUS SWEET, speaker of the New York Assembly, should pack up his expulsion kit and hurry to Iowa, where Davenport has elected a Socialist mayor. Dr. C. L. Barewald, Socialist, carried twelve of the eighteen wards, and with him a Socialist majority in the Board of Aldermen. Lower taxes, reduced street-car fares, and no issues of municipal bonds without consultation with the voters, are meagerly reported as the Bolshevik issues that carried the Socialists to victory. Sioux City, Waterloo, and several other Iowa cities elected Labor party mayors, yet anyone who followed the Albany trial knows that Socialists, Communists, Labor party are all of one brand. Clearly Iowa has need of a State Judiciary Committee to decide that whatever the individual record of these gentlemen in private and public life, they have by adherence to the Socialist or Labor parties committed "perpetual treason" and must be ejected from office. Of course the real lesson of these elections is that voters of indubitable Americanism are weary-

ing of so-called political parties which play Tweedledum and Tweedledee to each other year in and year out, and that these voters are not afraid of words like Labor party and Socialism if they like the men who use them. In part, too, the result is a normal and healthy reaction from the enforced super-patriotism which reigned with all the majesty of the Inquisition throughout the State of Iowa in war time, when bank balances were not secret and men were compelled to mortgage their farms to buy Liberty bonds. It is the same tendency which has shown itself in the Labor party victories in municipal elections in southern Illinois, in the primaries in Michigan and Wisconsin, and in Milwaukee, where the Socialist mayor, Daniel W. Hoan, has won his campaign for a third term, and the Socialists have increased their representation in the Common Council.

COMMEND us to the women—especially those in politics. They are developing the most unusual habit of saying what they think, of calling politicians by their right names, of recording accurately their reactions to the politics they are learning to know for the first time, and of telling us exactly how they stand. There is Anne Martin, of Nevada, for instance. She is out again for the Senate, and if the people of her State are wise, they will choose her, as they declined to in 1918 when, as an independent, she polled 5,000 out of a total of 20,000 votes cast. Miss Martin, too, is opposed to the treaty with Germany and the League of Nations as now drawn, but is for a league of peace of all nations, and she stands on many other planks to be found in the La Follette delegates' platform, such as the restoration of free speech, free press, and free assembly. She is also for the public ownership and operation of railroads, the government ownership and development of all natural resources still publicly owned, and of the merchant marine. Besides this, she would tax wealth, land values, and other natural resources held for speculation, and she is for the elimination of all discriminations against women in industry, civil service education, and public office. We wish her success, for the Senate needs to have deep economic issues brought before it, and above all it needs the refreshment that will come from the presence of such an honest and frank personality representing the needs and hopes of her sex.

THE much advertised Kansas Industrial Court is now facing its test. This tribunal, according to Governor Allen, was to remove unrest by forbidding strikes and fixing "fair" wages and hours. No sooner was it in working order than two large strikes occurred in the State, the miners and the railroad men leaving their work. Kansas now faces squarely the question whether the law can be enforced by throwing thousands of workers into jail, or at least jailing their officials. The Court has begun its task of jailing people by imprisoning Alexander Howat, the State president of the miners, and three other officials, who refused to appear before it and testify in an investigation of the affair. These leaders flatly take the position that this law is a denial of fundamental human rights and that they do not propose to obey it any more than the Abolitionists were willing to abide by the Fugitive Slave law. So we have a very serious conflict between the authority of the State and large portions of its working people—another phase of the question whether courts and court injunctions and executive fiat can dig coal and run trains. The wisdom of Mr. Hoover's warning, apropos of this Kansas Court, that its

summary actions may "both stifle a delicate adjustment of industrial processes and cause serious conflict over human rights" is hourly more apparent.

NEVER did what was heralded as a grand and inspiring cause collapse more completely of its own weight than the movement for universal compulsory military service. Its backers, who were so confident a little while ago that it would easily pass the Senate, did not dare to bring it to a vote in that body. So they hastily substituted for it a plan for voluntary military service which, as *The New York Times* correctly opines, they would not have agreed to were there the slightest chance that many thousands of Americans would come forward to accept this offer of four months of military training at government expense. Thus ends, for the time being, the effort to establish Prussian militarism in America, for it was precisely this universal service which so fortified the Prussian autocrats in their control of the people that it took a complete catastrophe to their country to unseat them. Of course, those people who hoped that universal service would afford another easy way to break public service corporation strikes by ordering strikers into uniform are entitled to sympathy in their disappointment. The rest of the country will rejoice that a proposal so un-American and undemocratic has been thus signally defeated.

THE British dockers have won their case before the new Industrial Court. This victory of Ernest Bevin and his dockers in April of this year ranks with that of Robert Smillie and the miners, just a year ago. Together they are the most important mass gains made by British labor since the war. The Court has recommended for the dockers sixteen shillings as the national minimum daily wage. It recognizes that the industry must maintain its casual workers, that unemployment must be a charge against the profits of the industry, and not a burden on the community. In busy times, the employers had been drawing workers from a pool of unemployment, and, then, when the slack came, flinging them back into the pool. This use of the unemployed, which swings from two to ten per cent, in part fixed wages and determined profits. The Coal Commission and the Dockers' Industrial Court are two steps toward industrial government. The actual business of administering the economic life of the community is thus passing somewhat out of the hands of the political Parliament. Industry insists on making its own laws. It insists on being heard through its own representatives, selected on an industrial (not geographical) basis. In the end, a parliament of trades seems to many inevitable, to exist side by side with the political Parliament of geographical constituencies. Until such constitutional channels of representation are given to persons according to their occupation, three things will happen: devices, such as the Coal Commission, the Industrial Court, the National Industrial Conference, will be extemporized, in answer to each new crisis; executive government (government by the Prime Minister and his inner Cabinet) will increase its power over the legislature; direct action by the workers will grow.

THIS "revolutionary tribunal" of the dockers, as the *Guildsman* calls it, put the question to the employers "By what right do you possess more than we?" Sir Alfred Booth, the shipowner, in stating that he would not care to live on the budget he recommended for his workers, said

"But that is the economic system." One episode became known as that of "Bevin, Bowley, and the Blanket." Professor Arthur L. Bowley is a distinguished statistician, and he devised a budget for a docker's family. He allowed £8 10s. a year for blankets, sheets, curtains, crockery. Mr. Bevin inquired how long that money would last in keeping warm at night. Professor Bowley replied: "At present prices, I should not attempt to replace blankets and other bedclothes. If it is indispensable to buy a blanket, the docker will have to provide it out of his overtime." But if the worker continues his overtime through the night, he will not need any blanket. Professor Bowley had charted the meals for a docker's family. His menu was on paper. But Mr. Bevin brought in plates containing the little dabs of bacon, fish, and cheese, recommended by England's famous expert. The Professor stated that he had himself for three weeks tested the diet, while he had done some gardening.

Mr. Bevin. "You have not done eight hours' digging right off?"—"No."

Mr. Bevin. "And you haven't had somebody coming at the end to say you must go on four hours more?"—"No."

Mr. Bevin. "The dockers do."

The Professor allowed eight pints of milk a week for the docker's family, but said that his own family supply was 22 pints. When machine industry was in its early, blooming youth, the authorities drew the line between starvation and under-nourishment. The worker was encouraged to live. In recent years, a finer scientific line has been drawn between under-nourishment and a slim sufficiency. It is a delicate balance, and if the worker misbehaves by jovial, unstatistical indiscretions on Bank Holiday or Sunday on the Thames, the curve of his budget cuts into his daily bread. But Smillie and Bevin have stood for a tiny margin, which will allow him to be occasionally careless at a movie show or playful in buying a book.

IF any self-respecting person still allows his name to be used by the National Civic Federation, he will do well to give heed to a recent exploit by its director, Ralph M. Easley. This time it is no less an authority than Dr. Henry J. Harris, chief of the Division of Documents of the Library of Congress, who points out that a pamphlet attacking the arguments for health insurance, issued by the Federation, has used in a wholly misleading way partial and doctored quotations from official reports. After citing chapter and verse in their true form, Dr. Harris concludes "A careful reading of the pamphlet is all that is necessary to convince one that there is a larger measure of truth in the statements so violently denounced than in this 'refutation' by the Civic Federation." The Federation ran true to form in that this pamphlet was reprinted by the New York League for Americanism, a propaganda organization whose connection with the insurance companies has been exposed by the New York League of Women Voters.

TO make a part of Maryland safe from dancing, a legislator has introduced into the House of Delegates a bill making it unlawful for any Marylander to indulge in "square dances, round dances, fox-trots, shimmying, jizzes, or any other kind of dancing in the counties comprising the Eastern Shore." Meanwhile the "new" dancing does go on all over the world; it is one thing born of the war that goes on unchecked—the one thing that no one has yet declared to be leading us straight to Bolshevism. Abroad,

in starving lands, they dance to forget that they starve, as long as their strength lasts. But the beautiful Eastern Shore, beloved of the Colonials, scene of a thousand novels, watered by Chesapeake Bay, home of the terrapin—why should its youth be denied the jazz? Their ancestors rode to the hounds; why deprive them of the fox-trot?

"HE'S a rum 'un—and one of the very few first talents of the time"—thus wrote Henry James of Rudyard Kipling in one of the letters which Scribners has just published. These missives reveal a new side of the great novelist—his extraordinary ability in judging contemporary men of letters. He at once assayed Stevenson at his true worth as early as 1884, and he comes down with unerring judgment to the lamented Rupert Brooke. But no estimate seems to us to have stood the test of time like his judgment of Rudyard Kipling. "I am laid low by the absolutely uncanny talent—the prodigious special faculty of it," he wrote of the poet come out of India, adding, however, "it's all *violent*, without a dream of a *nuance* or a hint of 'distinction'; all prose trumpets and castanets and such—with never a touch of the fiddle-string or a note of the nightingale." And then Mr. Kipling's incessant harping upon patriotism jarred Mr. James more and more: "I can't swallow his loud, brazen, patriotic verse—an exploitation of the patriotic idea, for that matter, which seems to me not really much other than the exploitation of the name of one's mother or one's wife. Two or three times a century—yes; but not every month." "The great little Rudyard," James again characterizes him. He plumbed Kipling well, for nothing more comes from the pen that once promised so much. In all the orgy of patriotism and nationalistic feeling through which we have lived of late, Kipling has produced nothing worth while even on the patriotic string. It has been the fighting man that stirred him most deeply. Yet, in the hour of the apotheosis of the fighting man, his glorifier has glorified nothing and no one.

PERHAPS the most ingenious suggestion for lowering the cost of living is to remove the excess profits tax. We thought when we adopted it that it would act to keep prices down, since it would reduce the reward of the excessive profiteer. On the contrary, we are now informed that it is a "burden on business," that it keeps prices up because business has to make so much more in order to pay it and still render the thousand per cent additions to surplus and undivided profits. Business cannot perform its proper service if it is taxed to pay for armies, navies, bonuses, deportations, and all the other by-products of war—of course not! Business should be unshackled. Very well, but why not carry this argument to its ultimate conclusion? The money to pay interest on bonds and current expenses must come from somewhere. Obviously the country will suffer if it comes from the important and sensitive corporations whose profits run into the billions. Let us, therefore, lay the burdens at the other end—upon the laborers, who are, we are told, the real profiteers. Let us have a progressive tax which will take nothing from the most profitable business and the highest incomes, and shall proceed upward until it confiscates 90 per cent of the wages of the workers in the steel mills. Then we shall hear no more of the eight-hour day; workingmen, in order to live, will plead to stay at their machines all the time; production will be increased, and business will be free.

The Railroad Men's Revolt

WE shall not understand the first issue of the existing railroad strike unless we admit at the beginning that few workers have had shabbier treatment from their employers than the yardmen and switchmen. Since 1914, while prices have been rising over 100 per cent, the wages of these men have risen about 50 per cent. In virtually every industry in the United States, organized and unorganized, labor has received larger advances. During the war the unions pressed their demands before the Railroad Administration and were put off. Last fall some of the men quit work without official authorization, and were induced to return with the promise that within a few weeks the Attorney General would lower the cost of living—it has gone up since. Late this winter the demands were presented again, but since the roads were about to be returned to the owners another promise was the only result. While the President was making promises, Congress passed the Esch-Cummins bill, over the vigorous protest of the railroad unions. The joint conference which resulted from the President's promise adjourned without action, because the railroad executives refused to pass on wages before the appointment of the adjustment board authorized in the act. At this writing, that board has not yet been appointed, owing to Mr. Wilson's inexcusable delay. While the interests of the railway owners have been guaranteed at every point, while the cost of living has been soaring, the yardmen have coolly been ignored. In plain language, the Government has been exploiting the loyalty of the railroad men, and the railroad men have concluded at last that the nation would not awake out of its complacency without a heavy jolt.

It is as absurd to look for the cause of the strike in the discharge of a disaffected conductor as it is to say that the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand caused the Great War. Nor need we invoke mysterious plots of the I. W. W. The railroad men are simply tired of being fooled and put off; they have lost confidence in those responsible for their welfare; they are savage and reckless. "We're just taking the thing away from Bill Lee," said a striker. "The strike is illegal and in violation of our contract. It will leave the Brotherhood high and dry. That doesn't make any difference. We've been waiting two years for more money and now we've quit." It is a fact of significance that the man who leads the strike is an American who has just laid aside the uniform of a first lieutenant which he wore in France.

Naturally, the officials of the Brotherhoods oppose the strike in order to preserve their organizations and to keep their contractual faith, but they acknowledge the justice of the strikers' cause. If the railroad owners and public officials had wanted to break up conservative organizations and substitute radical ones for them they could not have adopted a better course than they have; no union official can long follow the policy of compromise if the employer is not ready to cooperate with him in genuine consideration of the rights of the workers. For this consideration, promises, laws, denunciation, or prosecution cannot be substituted. But this does not conceal the fact that the existing strike is one of the most dangerous the country has ever faced. The Government must not only try to prevent suffering as a result of it, but should seek to end it at the first opportunity by offering its aid in procuring a just solution. The Government's policy should not be confined to strike-breaking.

Still Making It Safe

VLADIVOSTOK, Frankfort, Constantinople—every week brings us fresh evidence of the unselfishness and self-sacrifice of our Allies! They are determined that humanity shall ever progress toward self-determination and liberty, that the work of making the world safe for democracy shall never cease. So, within a fortnight, we see Great Britain, holding her handkerchief to her eyes, taking possession of Constantinople, while Japan, with unending protestations of regret, hoists her flag over Vladivostok as a result of the Russian aggression and "threatened aggression" against her troops. As for France, she, too, has known what to do in the face of "threatened aggression," and so her troops have rescued nine more German cities from German barbarism. Saying to the embattled German democrats that the sending of Ebert troops into the Ruhr to fight Communists was but another ruse of German militarism to revive the old menace to the world, General Degoutte goes to the aid of the German followers of Trotzky and Lenin as against the constituted authorities of Berlin. "I weep for you, I deeply sympathize," the French general remarked, like the Walrus to the Oysters; and then killed 6 Germans and wounded 44 when they made faces at his black troops.

Onward, Christian soldiers! We have no use for those who cavil at a few lives lost in Frankfort or Vladivostok. The Japanese, says the Associated Press, took the Russians by surprise. Well, would you have had them murdered in their beds by villainous Bolsheviks? What if a few of this breed and a dozen or so Czecho-Slovaks were shot down? Is it not well to advance liberty even at the cost of a few miserable existences? Throughout this war there have been no more notable evidences of Christian self-denial and of annexation for the good of the annexed than the Japanese have given. As the New York *Tribune* so well points out, it was impossible for the Japanese to let a hostile force hold a city which so menaces their nearby trade, and, of course, a threat against Japan is a threat against us—are we not Allies in a holy cause and, therefore, one? Moreover, the Japanese acted with most perfect Oriental courtesy toward us. Willing to do a trying job, they waited until the day after the last of the American troops and their Commanding General, Graves, had left Vladivostok, realizing the embarrassment to which the Americans might have been put had the change of government taken place just as they were leaving. More than that, the Japanese have taken Khabarovsk after ten hours of fighting, with the loss of 260 martyrs to the cause of humanity—and thus Japan has brought liberty and democracy to rich coal and iron regions north of Vladivostok.

Now, we have absolutely no sympathy with those who would attribute selfish motives to our Allies in these matters. It is both vulgar and unseemly, for instance, for our new contemporary, the *Freeman*, to speak of our Allies as dividing the swag and of the French and British difference of opinion as being "merely the proverbial and inevitable falling out of thieves." Such language was once treasonable and, of course, still should be. We insist that it is not true that the French have their eyes on Essen and the Ruhr itself, but, if it should be true, we maintain that it is for the safety of the world from threatened aggression. Falstaff thought it was a serious matter to have a person bite his thumb at another person, and so do we. All this alleged German killing that has been going on in the Ruhr was, we

are certain, a carefully staged moving-picture affair, a mere biting of thumbs, all sound and fury, in order to give the militarists a chance to rush a million Huns into the Ruhr while General Degoutte, quite unsuspecting, was reading his morning newspaper. Thus, by over-running the occupied zone in a few hours, a million Germans could quickly take Verdun and so go through to Paris before you could say Jack Robinson or turn over in bed. These Germans are not to be trusted, so the French were quite justified in striking first. Machiavelli himself has a delightful chapter on the desirability of carrying the war aggressively and unexpectedly into your enemy's country instead of assuming a defensive policy, and General Degoutte has merely followed that great master of strategy. It was not the fault of General Degoutte's tank corps that the men and women of Frankfort made faces at them. Indeed, we should not be a bit surprised if an official French investigation should prove that the Hun women asked to be shot, or at least deliberately got in the way of the bullets, in order to trouble our Ally.

But whatever the Huns may do or say, the cause of righteousness will go on apace. We declare this with certainty, despite the fact that our country in the eyes of many people is turning its back upon Europe and has shirked the responsibilities which it should assume under the League of Nations. Do not the people of the United States now see that if we had only entered the League, our troops might now be marching further into Germany and sharing the Constantinople expedition with England? Of course, there will continue to be pacifists, pro-German sentimentalists, to pretend that the continued enterprise of our Allies in finding new places for the banners of freedom is merely seeking to feather their own nests. Perish the thought!

In Darkest Einstein

IMAGINE yourself in the middle of a compartment falling from a great height, and then imagine the compartment jerked violently to one side; imagine yourself travelling through inter-stellar space with the velocity of light; imagine yourself, with a yardstick in hand, speeding with nine-tenths of the velocity of light alongside an object whose length you were trying to measure; imagine trying to match yardsticks with another unfortunate individual travelling with equal rapidity in the opposite direction; imagine trying to tell the time from a clock on the rear of an express train going away from you with the velocity of light. The writers of Einstein articles seem to realize that these are predicaments usually found only in bad dreams, for they bait them with most intriguing conclusions. If such things were happening, then you would have eternal youth (though your consciousness would be a complete blank); you would not experience gravitation; you would have no mass; you would contract; the clock would stand still; your yardstick would prove to be only two inches long. In short, you would really understand the theory of relativity and could talk about Einstein intelligibly. We assume that none of the writers in question has actually undergone these experiences.

We can assure our readers, however, after an extensive perusal of the literature of the subject, that certain hypotheses have been indubitably proved. One is, that although Newton was not right about the law of gravity, it nevertheless exerts a force on light rays. Another is that there

is no ether; if you wore an ethereal hat, it could not be blown away by the ethereal wind which scientists formerly supposed was set up by the motion of the earth through the ether. Another hypothesis of greater interest, particularly to children, is that if there were a drop of water 732 million kilometers in diameter, there would be nothing else in space—in fact there would be no space at all outside of it. Concerning this conclusion, however, there seems to be some doubt. Perhaps it would be better to say that if instead of adopting an ordinary three-dimensional idea of space we drew a properly distorted diagram, including four or five dimensions if we chose, but at least constructed according to principles quite unknown to Euclid, space would have limits, and all existence would exist, as it were, in the interior of a gigantic egg. This thought gives one a cosy feeling to counteract the sense of awful immensity which we ordinarily derive from looking at the stars and wondering where they end. The important thing to remember in this connection is that whether or not space is infinite depends not on space, but on the diagram you draw of it.

In the ordinary life of the commuter there are various Einsteineous experiences. One is walking up a moving stairway—which may, if properly viewed, give one the sense that the earth is falling as one rises. Another is leaving a city which saves daylight for a suburb which does not, so that one leisurely gets on the train at five, and after an hour's ride leaves it at five. The sobering aftermath of this triumph is that next morning you depart from the suburb at seven in order to reach the city at nine—but, of course, the true Einsteiners never come back.

The final conclusion which is insisted upon by all the popular interpreters, and which we must enforce upon our readers, is that the difficulty of the subject is greatly exaggerated. If you do not understand it at a glance you are a dunce and a simpleton. Do not let the publishers trick you by leading you from article to article and from book to book in a vain hope of catching the will-o'-the-wisp. Read one exposition firmly and quietly, and if you do not at once see that nothing is fixed and absolute; that we are living in a glorious whirl in which time and space can gaily exchange places like partners in a Virginia reel, turn no more to Einstein but to your private cellar. You can be intoxicated only by a brew beneath the attention of physicists.

Another Inquisition

IN view of the opinions expressed elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation* by prominent members of the New York bar, it may be of interest to reprint here a letter recently written by Mr. Leslie J. Tompkins to the executive committee of the New York State Association of Legal Instructors. A group of the latter, disgusted at the position taken, offers the letter to the public through these columns. It will serve as its own most caustic commentary. Mr. Tompkins's elegant English and his accurate Latin are scrupulously reproduced.

I am so much impressed with the importance of the subject "Americanism" and the duty of bar and bench to maintain it, that I am offering herewith certain suggestions for our deliberations this spring. I quite realize the importance of education, but these people come to us already educated in this socialistic maelstrom and it's mighty little we can do with them. They come to us with strong contempt for our system of govern-

ment; with the ideas that private ownership means economic slavery, that freedom of the workers means freedom of all humanity, that the workers must seize the government itself that *they* may "thus come into *their* rightful inheritance," etc., and no matter how strong our courses in Constitutional Law may be, we make no impression upon them. Against the duty to educate them lies the larger duty of self preservation which is peculiarly the duty of the law. The important question with me is this: Is the doubtful benefit we can bestow on these people by attempts at conversion to sane principles worth considering in the face of the actual danger which threatens by doubly equipping them by intensive training in the law and for admission to the bar, that—being in the profession—they may thus the more easily undo the fruits of long years of toil? One socialist lawyer of prominence tearing at the structure erected by our constitutional lawyers of the last 136 years does so much damage in one day that it will require the toil of the whole bar for a year or more to overcome. Must we have more of them? Can we not do something to stop them?

Faithfully,

LESLIE J. TOMPKINS

Mr. Tompkins then goes on to make the following specific recommendations:

The propositions advanced and the responses made by Morris Hilquitt to the several questions asked of him in his examination before the Assembly Judiciary Committee on Thursday, February 19th, 1920, lead me to the following suggestions:

1. That while we as an association are not in a position to "clean up" the Bar by ousting those whose heresy would endanger our institutions, we are in a position where we can, *in a measure*, prevent the future growth and consequent spreading of such heresy.

2. There is probably no law school in the State that has not among those who will apply for a degree this June a number of men who are socialistic, bolshevistic, "international" or sovietic in belief, action and purpose.

3. Are we as law schools doing our plain duty by simply certifying that a student has "successfully completed" our "prescribed course," maintained a "constant and regular attendance," and attained a proper standing in deportment while with us?

4. Shall we continuously "pass the buck" up to the character committees and leave it to them to discover the applicant's attitude towards "Americanism"; and are we really "passing the buck" properly, when we realize that not more than 50 per cent of our graduates ever apply for admission to the Bar?

5. Being American institutions, teaching American institutions, insisting upon reverence and respect for the Constitution, the courts and our republican form of government, is it not up to us to insist that no man or woman shall receive our imprimatur unless he or she shall have convinced us beyond a reasonable doubt, not only of his or her belief in, but his or her determination to actually participate in the maintenance and proper development of those institutions?

6. If we can all agree upon the above principles (and who doubts it?) may we not agree upon a short uniform written examination which with the answers made shall be the basis of our determination as to whether we shall certify "*Juvenem ingenuum moribus inculpatum*"? Our character committees appear insistent upon personal morality. I would be far more insistent upon *governmental* morality, *constitutional* morality, *legal* morality—*mores Americanus*—by whatever name you choose to call it.

7. As a suggestion only, I submit a set of questions, which among others might well be asked. 1. State your conception of the word "support" when asked "will you support the Constitution of the United States." 2. State your conception of the expression "I will maintain the respect due to Courts of Justice." 3. State your conception of "national honor." 4. Do

you believe in armed force (a) to maintain our form of government; (b) to maintain our "national honor"? 5. How far would you go in insisting upon the right of a majority to make or unmake our present form of government? 6. State your conception of the expression "all men are born equal." 7. To what extent do you recognize individual rights of property? 8. Do you believe in "a coöperative commonwealth"? 9. Do you believe that the "whole system of industry" is the "rightful inheritance" of "the world's workers" as distinguished from "capitalism"? 10. If admitted to the degree in law, will you teach, preach, and practice the principles you have herein expressed?

The Associated Press and Its News Sources

IN a recent debate between an official of the Associated Press and the editor of the *New York Call*, the latter declared that the Associated Press could not be fair to labor because the stream could not rise higher than its source; and the source of the Associated Press news is the twelve hundred or more newspapers which constitute its membership. Mr. Ervin was right. Since the Associated Press is dependent upon its members for its news in those localities in which it does not maintain its own news service, it must take from them all its accounts of happenings in those fields. If the news is biased, intentionally or unintentionally, when it starts on its course, it will turn up elsewhere in biased form unless, while on the way, it is so refined as to take from it any point of view whatever and to reduce it to a purely colorless recital of facts. Such a recital is what the Associated Press honestly aims to give.

Unfortunately, however, there are other ways of failing to present the whole truth than by coloring the account of what has happened. Thus, the news dispatch may be a half truth, or the mischief may be done by a simple failure to report facts at all. Again, the dispatch, faultless in form and quite beyond criticism as to language, may give the reader a wholly wrong impression. "The police today were compelled to charge a mob of steel strikers"—such a bulletin often passes the Associated Press censors; yet the fact may be that there was no "mob"; that the police were not "compelled" to attack; that it was only another case of abuse of official power and authority; and that, if the whole truth were told, the picture would be quite a different one. But the Associated Press member which sent the news was, for instance, on the side of the Steel Corporation—such things happen constantly in every strike. Mr. Stone, the general manager of the Associated Press at New York, may not have been aware of this, nor yet Mr. Smith, the Associated Press correspondent at, let us say, Pittsburgh, who relayed the news to New York. In perfect good faith, with absolute honesty on the part of every Associated Press employee who handles the news, a false report, or a biased and colored one, or one that only states one side of the case, may go on its way. Yet the Associated Press itself is convinced of the purity of its own intention; it resents any criticism to the effect that in regard to such a dispatch or to any other it is deliberately "class-conscious," or "capitalistic," or "anti-labor." But the stream does not rise higher than its source.

So in the recent "Red" raids; the Associated Press has duly recorded the Government's point of view and the facts of the raids as those in authority saw them. But it has nowhere given a hint of the outrageous character of many

of those raids. It did not tell of six hundred prisoners locked up under inhuman circumstances in the Detroit Post Office under conditions so infamous and bestial that the Mayor of Detroit protested officially. It gave no hint of the inexcusable wrongs perpetrated at Philadelphia which led, among other things, to the resignation in protest of the United States District Attorney, Mr. Kane. It not only did not rise higher than its source, it carefully safeguarded its service against anything that looked as if it might favor the "Reds" or offend in any way its ultra-conservative membership. The daily newspapers were delighted, we may be sure, with the complete accuracy of its raid reports. It does not mean to take sides, and it is, therefore, correspondingly hurt when it finds liberals and radicals constantly criticizing it and insisting that, when it takes the "color" out of news, it always takes out the color belonging to the under-dog.

Let us take another example. Mr. W. H. Cowles, of the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, is one of the deservedly popular and able members of the Board of Directors of the Associated Press. His powerful and successful newspaper is responsible for the news of its section of the country. In its editorial pages the *Spokesman-Review* has recently defended a local judge's abrogation of that provision of the Constitution of the United States which guarantees trial by jury, in the cases of certain members of the I. W. W. against whom the judge has issued injunctions. Toward the I. W. W. the *Spokesman-Review* is so bitter, so patriotically violent, that one must be simple indeed to believe that the paper could possibly report any I. W. W. happening with that scrupulous fairness to which even the lowest are entitled; and this, notwithstanding that fairness to all is of the stock in trade of the Associated Press. No one, we are sure, got from its columns the fact that a leader of the American Legion testified that members of that body began the attack in Centralia which met with such fatal results. The *Spokesman-Review* has egged on the authorities at Washington to those acts of official lawlessness at which visiting foreigners stand aghast. Wittingly or unwittingly, it plays the game of those capitalistic forces which see in the "Red" scare a chance to annihilate the I. W. W., the labor unions, and all agitators. It is the source of the Associated Press news at Spokane. So is the *Post-Intelligencer* at Seattle; yet the Associated Press did not, to our knowledge, carry the news that because of the alleged wholesale lying and falsifying of that newspaper as to the labor troubles at Seattle, its own compositors compelled it to print the most humiliating confession of its poisoned utterances ever carried by an American daily. Yet the *Post-Intelligencer* is still, we infer, a source of news for the Associated Press.

Yet when all is said and done, neither the editor of the *Call* nor any one else has suggested a better news-gathering system than that of the Associated Press. It is certainly honest according to its lights. It is a coöperative undertaking, making no profit for any one. While its rival, the United Press, is more open to liberal news, its motive, nevertheless, is gain for its stockholders. A government news-service is unthinkable; the service which is being formed by the labor and Socialist press will be useful and will tell many truths, but it, too, will have its slant or bias. Who can show the way out? The cost of news gathering, it must be remembered, runs into millions of dollars a year. Until the whole moral tone of the local press is raised, the Associated Press cannot be better than it is; the public, indeed, is fortunate that it is so good.

Ireland, Tea, and Rebellion

IF the British, instead of hugging it to their breast, would only submit the Irish question to the good offices of America, there might be some hope of a settlement. The streets of Dublin were quiet on Easter day; British machine guns and tanks and troops stood around looking rather foolish and waiting for the rebellion that did not begin. And nobody had the kindness to tell them that the rebellion was passing the week-end in Washington, giving the British Embassy a happy Easter. It began on Good Friday when a group of American women—wearing good American names, such as O'Brien and Shehan and Donegan—appeared before the British Embassy and with banners and slogans told the world what they thought of British rule in Ireland. By way of answer, members of the Embassy invited the pickets in to tea. Whether the pickets felt that British tea possessed a certain mystical significance, or whether they feared that either their tea or their minds might be poisoned by the "enemy," is not recorded. At any rate they declined the invitation, and in that moment a great chance for international conciliation was lost.

With a lack of vision we have long attributed to the Department of State, its Secretary failed to offer arbitration, but instead issued an apology to the British Embassy—possibly for the failure of the ladies to attend the tea party—and promised prompt action to quell the rebellion. The Washington police force, however, with the humiliating memory of the victory of the suffrage pickets still fresh in their minds, failed to intervene, and the Department of State was forced to search through the Federal statutes to find the proper penalty to inflict upon ladies who refuse tea at the British Embassy. No such ignorance impeded the actions of Miss Sophie Stanton, described as "social secretary to Thomas Nelson Page during his service as American Ambassador to Italy," who with the help of a friend physically assaulted two of the pickets, drove one of them away, and destroyed her banner. The unhesitating vigor of this action was doubtless due to the fact that Miss Stanton, as the newspapers reported, was "well acquainted with diplomatic usage."

Finally, however, the State Department found the regulation it needed, and two of the pickets were arrested. The fact that the arrest was made by Captain Robert Emmet Doyle may be counted as one of the minor tragedies of the rebellion. The other pickets took to the air, challenged the police to come up after them, and dropped fulminating bombs in what they hoped was the general vicinity of the Embassy. As a matter of "diplomatic usage" the Easter rebellion at Washington may be considered over. The pickets have turned their attention to the Department of State and are quoting to Secretary Colby certain admirable indiscretions on the Irish question uttered by him at the time of the previous Easter rebellion—at Dublin.

So we say the British Government should leave the settlement of the Irish matter to the American people. With complete freedom to act, the Secretary of State could doubtless have lured the pickets in to tea with their enemies. An armistice could have been signed over the muffins; and today the flag of the Irish Republic might be waving in peace instead of maintaining a perilous existence at the top of a greased pole on the Admiralty docks at Dublin.

Are American Liberties Worth Saving?

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK LAWYERS

A LETTER was sent recently by the editor of *The Nation* to a group of prominent lawyers of New York city, asking if the time had not come for the bar to speak out against the denial of the Constitutional rights of free speech and public assembly in this country. Various instances were cited of lawlessness on the part of executive officials and tyranny by the police, particularly in the treatment of the foreign population, and President Wilson's phrase was recalled that "the seed of revolution is repression." Most of the men addressed replied frankly and fully, but a number of them are unwilling to have their letters published. *The Nation* is privileged, however, to print the replies of William Church Osborn, Paul D. Cravath, George W. Wickersham, F. B. Jennings, and Harlan F. Stone. Their letters appear below in full, except for formal sentences of introduction and conclusion.

WILLIAM CHURCH OSBORN

William Church Osborn, who was chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee, 1914-1916, and has been prominent in movements for better government in New York city, writes:

"I believe in the right of free speech and I have seen with growing anger the activities of the various policemen, detectives, legislators, and nation-savers-at-large. I believe that if the facts in each case were sifted we would find a substantial proportion of instances in which the police were over-zealous and sometimes brutal, the detectives careless of realities in their desire for a show, and legislators guided by the spirit of the herd in a panic; and I am glad to add my voice to the growing public opinion against such performances. They have, however, the excuse that by the light of war we saw the German spies and propaganda here and the deaths and destruction caused by people protected by our institutions. The fact that Trotzky started his career of bloodshed and destruction from here has also profoundly affected the public mind.

"There is abroad a tribe of agitators in many-colored coats, wandering around the country and rousing disaffection for our country and its institutions. They attack production and distribution by appeals to class prejudice, and they advocate political action by class interests as selfish as any capitalists. Extremists of this class are as objectionable as of the other.

"The increasing love of our country and its institutions is the best way to correct abuses. Such love is not helped by class agitation and indiscriminate abuse.

"I dislike those who are undermining the love of our country as much as those who are disregarding the right of free speech and free assembly.

"We need a sane constructive criticism of our industrial, political, and social life, based on facts instead of 'opinion and hypotheses' and inspired by the wish to build up and improve the tested institutions of our national life."

PAUL D. CRAVATH

In answer to the letter from the editor of *The Nation*, Paul D. Cravath says:

"I believe that citizen anarchists should be punished and

that alien anarchists should be deported. I think that the deportation of undesirable aliens is an administrative and not a judicial function and should not involve a trial by jury. In this democratic country, where the ballot is all powerful, I do not think the law can be too vigorously enforced against those who seek to overturn the established government by violence (or by what is termed 'direct action'). On the other hand, I believe there should be the greatest freedom in the expression of views on social and political questions and that American citizens should be free to advocate changes in our form of government, or in the structure of our society, however radical, provided those changes are to be accomplished by lawful and constitutional means.

"I presume that in the present crusade against anarchists much injustice is being done in individual cases. Bolshevism is like appendicitis. We are apt to think the disease is more prevalent than it used to be, simply because we have found a new name for it and have been giving intensive study to its symptoms. We are apt to brand many social activities as Bolshevism which are really something entirely different. Personally I do not fear Bolshevism in this country, and the extent to which Bolshevik ideas are abroad in this country is, I think, very much exaggerated.

"Entertaining these views, my objection against the policy now being pursued by the Government in the pursuit of anarchists and their kind, both citizens and aliens, is that the pursuit is not being conducted with sufficient discrimination and care in order to reduce to a minimum the danger of injustice to innocent persons. The ruthless and indiscriminating exercise of governmental power is very apt to encourage rather than suppress the very evil which it is sought to eradicate."

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM

George W. Wickersham, Attorney General in the Cabinet of President Taft, writes:

"So far as the violation by the police of the right of assembly and parade is concerned, the matter seems to have been disposed of in the proper legal fashion by the magistrate before whom the persons arrested by the police were taken. As to the prohibition against assembly in different parts of the country, each instance depends, I assume, upon a particular state of facts. There seems to be no doubt that a very large number of foreigners who have been enjoying the protection of American laws are actively engaged in endeavoring to subvert the institutions of this country, and to substitute by various unlawful means the form of government which is popularly known as 'Soviet' for the constitutional government established by our institutions. The activities of these people are varied, and I should not get very much excited over the question of preventing them from meeting and shouting themselves hoarse over their particular projects, were it not that, in the present unsettled condition following the war, foolish vaporings, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have no other effect than to gratify the speakers, result in crimes of violence and destruction of property. There is no absolute right of free speech, despite the language of the First Amendment

of the Constitution. As Judge Holmes said, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court in a recent case:

The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that may have all the effect of force. . . . The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.

"In a modified degree, the same rule applies to the anomalous period of technical war and partial social demoralization through which we are now passing. It may be that this is resented by the labor audiences to which you refer. I am inclined to think that these audiences are made up, or at all events their complexion is colored, by the class of agitators to whom I have referred. The methods of repression by the police are not apt to be gentle; they often are brutal; they call for severe condemnation; but in dealing with them, the particular instance must be borne in mind. The fact that individual policemen in scattered localities are harsh in enforcing the law does not justify a conclusion that the law should be repealed. I do not think it was on any such issue of liberty as this that Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, and a host of our forefathers lifted up their voices; at least, I am unacquainted with any history that would justify that conclusion. The fact is that the principal complaints, so far as I am familiar with them, have come from the class of people who used such influence as they had in every possible way to prevent the United States from taking its part in preventing Germany from extending her militaristic system of government over the world, and in crippling, so far as they might, the effectiveness of our efforts when we did join the war. I am inclined to think that a wholesome lesson will be taught if the foreigners who have come here and enjoyed the protection of our laws shall learn that that protection is not extended to them as a cover for unchecked efforts to overthrow our theory of government or our conception of civilization."

F. B. JENNINGS

The reply of F. B. Jennings is as follows:

"I have read your letter with great interest and entire agreement in general with the views which it so admirably expresses.

"In a representative democracy like ours there can be no doubt or difficulty about certain fundamental principles which are simple and plain. The Government is bound to uphold the Constitution and enforce the laws, and so long as they remain unchanged it is the duty of every one to obey them. On the other hand, every citizen has the undoubted right, by free speech, by peaceable assembly, or by any other lawful means to advocate and endeavor to obtain a change in either Constitution or laws in the ways lawfully provided for making such changes; that is, by the use of ballots and not by the use of force or any form of threat or intimidation or other unlawful acts or means.

"I am not sufficiently familiar with the facts in the cases to which you allude to know how far these principles have been violated in particular instances. Such experience and

observation as I have myself had over a long period of years would lead me to think that the right of free speech had been more frequently abused than the power of government to suppress it. I have no doubt that many of the most costly and unfortunate labor strikes throughout the country in the past have not expressed the free will of a majority, but have been brought about by intimidation and in many instances accompanied by acts of absolute violence and violations of law.

"In respect to the situation which has more recently prevailed, I have, of course, been aware, through the press, of the fact that there have been alleged seditious utterances and acts on the part of some who are claimed to be disloyal to this country, and, on the other hand, that there have been, in many cases no doubt, ill-advised attempts to prevent or repress meetings and parades and other acts, doubtless perfectly lawful in themselves, on the assumption that they would lead to unlawful acts.

"It seems to me that there has been a good deal of hysteria on both sides, and that the sooner we get back to normal conditions the better it will be for the country. It is not always easy to determine just when the principles above stated are applicable. Personally I feel no doubt as to the right of free assembly and speech for any lawful purpose. It is equally clear that any of our citizens may entertain any political views they honestly believe, and use any lawful means to advance or persuade others to accept the same views.

"And it seems to me of the utmost importance, and all the greater because of the prevailing hysteria, that our governments, both State and national, should exercise the greatest care not to unduly interfere with the exercise of these rights. On the other hand, where these rights are taken advantage of to preach, encourage, or aid seditious or unlawful acts, they should be promptly suppressed, always, of course, by the use of proper methods.

"While I appreciate the danger that any attempt at suppression might tend to martyrize the participants, and perhaps unduly magnify what often turn out to be perfectly harmless and ineffectual demonstrations, I think where the acts are positively unlawful in themselves, or in their necessary results, they should be stopped at the outset. The time to prevent a runaway car from going downhill to its destruction is before it gathers momentum, and with a large foreign-born population, many of whom are not citizens, incalculable harm may be done if these movements, when they pass the point of lawful demonstrations, are not promptly stopped. I entirely agree, however, that our Government should be exceedingly careful in exercising this power of suppression, and that it is vitally important to the preservation of our institutions that there shall be no unjustifiable interference with the right of free speech or of our citizens to advocate and encourage by lawful means the adoption of any political principles in which they may honestly believe."

HARLAN F. STONE

Harlan F. Stone, dean of the School of Law of Columbia University, replies thus:

"I have already taken a position on the question which you raised. At an address made at Cornell University last May, to lawyers and prospective lawyers, I said:

I believe it is important that as lawyers we should be keenly apprehensive of the unjust exercise of arbitrary power in our governmental system whether civil or military, and that we

should be the first in the community to protect the rights of the individual from the encroachments by the exercise of such power, whether it be clothed in the forms of law or relies upon popular prejudice or indifference to escape the consequences of its own unlawful acts. For that reason in my judgment the bar of the country has a special duty and mission at this time to scrutinize critically and jealously those laws whose enactment in principle was doubtless necessary to the prosecution of a great war, which encroach upon the field of individual liberty in placing restrictions upon the free expression of opinion and the free communication of information and the expression of ideas. At this time when the world has just been inundated with German falsehood, and at a time when, I believe, we are about to hear the preaching of a great deal of false social and economic philosophy, we are prone to forget the teachings of history that in the long run there is greater danger to human progress in the arbitrary repression of truth than in freedom to disseminate falsehood. The Inquisition did not destroy heresy; the truth will thrive without its aid.

"It is perhaps needless for me to say that I have no sympathy with much of the radical doctrine which is now being preached. Some of it seems to me to be sheer nonsense, and most of it, if adopted and carried into effect, would reduce the world to chaos, in which the progress toward civilization which has been made in centuries of painful toil and effort would be lost.

"I do not fear these doctrines if they are preached in the open, where they can be freely discussed and accepted or rejected by the American people. Our constitutional system presupposes the right to effect changes in government by the processes of constitutional amendment and legislation, through the medium of the ballot, and the intelligent exercise

of the ballot presupposes freedom of opinion and free discussion of all political questions. As a natural consequence of the war, the country is now menaced by a spirit of intolerance. The radical is perhaps more intolerant than the conservative, but the intolerance of the conservative, when it affects the process of law administration and of government, as it seems to me it has in some of the cases you mention, strikes at the very foundation of free institutions.

"As Abraham Lincoln said, 'Among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet.' Under our system, the man who appeals from the ballot to the use of force, or counsels others to use force in order to gain his ends, must be repressed, as he will be repressed, by firm and even-handed justice administered by the courts. But I know of no other limitation which can be placed on freedom of speech if we are to preserve the political principles on which this country was founded. The application of this limitation, when it affects the personal liberty of the individual, whether he be a citizen or an alien, within our gates, should, I think, be subject to review by the courts. An almost inevitable consequence of the control of personal liberty by administrative officials, without the safeguard of an appeal to the courts, is injustice to the individual, and, both on grounds of principle and of policy, we should wish to avoid the doing of injustice by the official acts of our Government.

"There are already, I believe, indications that we shall soon witness a reaction in public sentiment in favor of adequate protection of the rights of minorities and of insuring to individuals, even though they be foreigners, justice according to law administered by courts."

Centralia: An Unfinished Story

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

NEITHER side was satisfied with the compromise verdict rendered by the jury at Montesano in the trial of the eleven members of the I. W. W. charged with the murder of Warren O. Grimm in connection with the Centralia tragedy on Armistice Day. The prosecution asked that all eleven be convicted of murder in the first degree, as having conspired to commit murder. The defense asked that all be acquitted, as men who had planned only to defend themselves and their hall against a threatened raid. One of the defendants was freed on a directed verdict. Of the ten considered by the jury, two were acquitted, one adjudged insane, and seven convicted of murder in the second degree. Even to the jury itself this verdict was not satisfactory. It brought in first a verdict of murder in the third degree for two of the defendants, but was informed by the judge that this was inadmissible, and upon further consideration changed the verdict to that of murder in the second degree. It is generally conceded that three of the jurors held out for some time for absolute acquittal of all defendants.

Both prosecution and defense expressed disappointment. Prosecuting Attorney Allen called it a "travesty on justice," and declared that a new action would be begun for the murder of McElfresh, another of the victims of the shooting. George F. Vanderveer, counsel for the defense, declared that a second degree murder verdict was absurd, as the only possible connection of most of the defendants with the death of Grimm lay in the theory of previous

conspiracy, while second degree murder is "unpremeditated." He undertook to appeal the case, alleging as grounds the prejudice of both judge and jury. Judge Wilson had delivered an address in eulogy of the Armistice Day victims at a patriotic memorial service held in their honor, and Jurymen Sellers was alleged to have announced his intention to go on the jury and hang the members of the I. W. W.

According to the view taken by most of the local press, the verdict was "at least a partial victory for the defense," as acquittal was practically impossible under the judge's instructions. Judge Wilson ruled that while it was lawful for the I. W. W. to plan a defense of their hall, it was unlawful to station men outside the hall for that purpose. Since four of the defendants had admitted being so stationed, a verdict of acquittal was hardly possible.

Another verdict found its way into the newspapers, that of the labor jury—six men elected by various labor bodies of the Northwest to sit through the trial and report their findings. Seattle, Everett, Tacoma, and Portland each sent delegates from their central labor councils, and delegates came also from the Seattle Metal Trades Council and the Centralia branch of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. This labor jury, passing over the point of law raised by the judge, and taking into account testimony offered which the judge instructed the regular jury to disregard, announced its conclusion as follows:

That the defendants were "not guilty" of conspiring to murder Grimm;

That there was a conspiracy by the business interests at Centralia to raid the I. W. W. hall;

That the hall was unlawfully raided before the shooting started;

That the I. W. W. had a right to defend it;

That Warren O. Grimm was a party to the conspiracy to raid the hall;

That the defendants did not get a fair trial, as much vital evidence was excluded.

Both sides agree that there was a patriotic parade on Armistice Day last November, which went somewhat out of the usual line of march past the I. W. W. hall. The I. W. W., fearing that their hall would be raided and wrecked, as it had been two years before after a Red Cross parade, had armed themselves to defend the hall. There were also members of the I. W. W. who had taken up positions in the Arnold Hotel opposite the hall; the Avalon Hotel, part way down the street; and Seminary Hill, a thousand feet away, overlooking the entrance to the hall.

At the beginning of the trial, the prosecution was not disposed to admit that the members of the I. W. W. had actually expected a raid and had armed for defense, but at the end it agreed to this interpretation in a statement dictated in my presence for press use. Similarly, the attorney for the defense, Mr. Vanderveer, in his opening statement, did not admit the shooting from the Avalon Hotel, but this was later conceded. It was a shot from the Avalon Hotel which killed Warren O. Grimm.

At the end of the parade came the Centralia division of the American Legion. The prosecution introduced several witnesses who claimed that the parade was in military formation at the time when the shooting began from the hall. Some said it had halted, some that it was marking time, and some that it was marching straight ahead at the usual pace. Opposed to this, the defense introduced some thirty or forty witnesses who stated that certain members of the parade had broken ranks and begun an attack on the hall, actually kicking the door open, before any shots were fired. Spectators on the sidewalk and men actually in the parade gave this account, one "regular" soldier stating that Commander Cormier blew a whistle, after which the shout arose: "Let's go get 'em."

A typical bit of spectator's testimony was that of Forest Campbell, a candy-maker. He said: "I saw Cormier stop the parade and almost at once a group of men rushed toward the hall. Two or three men were in the lead. They were running. I heard the glass crash and the door swing open. I saw McElfresh lying on the sidewalk in front of the place."

The only man who directly admitted taking part in the raid before the shooting began was Dr. Frank Bickford, who was called by the defense to repeat the testimony he had given at the coroner's inquest. He stated that he had offered to lead a raid, but that before he started there were others ahead of him, one of whom kicked open the door, and then the shooting started. In its rebuttal the prosecution introduced a series of witnesses from the parade who testified, with monotonous regularity, that the parade was in military formation when the shooting began.

General agreement exists regarding the place where the eleven defendants were during the shooting, except in regard to Eugene Barnett, a miner. The prosecution held that he was in the Avalon Hotel, and fired the shot that

killed Grimm; they introduced witnesses who claimed to have seen him in the window and later leaving the hotel. Some of these witnesses proved uncertain in their identification, and the defense brought in much evidence to show that Barnett was in the lobby of another hotel, unarmed, during the trouble, and that he then rode out to his home, ten miles away. The jury evidently gave weight to the testimony of the defense on this point, as Barnett was one of the two men to whom they gave the first sentence of "third degree murder," whereas, according to the prosecution, he had been the actual slayer of Grimm.

Of the other defendants, Britt Smith, secretary of the I. W. W., was in the hall, together with James McInerney, Mike Sheehan, Ray Becker, and Tom Morgan. The latter turned State's evidence. Sheehan was unarmed and no evidence connected him with any knowledge of the raid; he was acquitted by the jury. McInerney was found armed, and arms were found belonging to Becker and Smith; these three were convicted of murder in the second degree. Morgan, who turned State's evidence, was released.

Two of the defendants, O. C. Bland and John Lamb, were in the Arnold Hotel, diagonally opposite the hall. The prosecution claimed that they fired; the defense admitted that they were ready to fire, but stated that as Bland thrust his gun through the window, he cut his hand so seriously that he could not use it. The hotel proprietor, standing below the window, heard the glass break and rushed upstairs, but heard no shots and saw no smoke in the room. Both Bland and Lamb were arrested at their homes, and left large families of dependent children when they were taken to jail—seven in the Bland family and five in the Lamb family. The mothers had difficulty in getting any assistance from the public charities and the families were in serious straits until the Salvation Army relieved them.

Loren Roberts and Bert Bland, two young boys, brought up in the vicinity of Centralia, went armed to Seminary Hill. Roberts made a "confession" and was later judged insane. Bert Bland, a smiling youth, perhaps the most attractive of the defendants, made the most damaging admission, as he related clearly and honestly how he fired from the hill into the crowd that was surging round the hall. He received the verdict of second degree murder, as did his brother, O. C. Lamb, and John Lamb.

Elmer Smith, one of the two men acquitted, was a young attorney in Centralia. Born on a homestead in North Dakota, working his way through college and law school, taking up and improving a homestead in Washington, having a young wife and small child—he had been one of Centralia's most popular young men until he became attorney for workingmen, including, finally, the I. W. W. The only evidence against him was that he had been in the hall earlier in the day and asked Britt Smith if he was prepared for a raid. He was several blocks away during the shooting.

Four of the defendants were fathers of small children; one, Mike Sheehan, was an old man whose sons were grown and scattered to the four winds, except for one of them, Bill Sheehan, who was present at the trial. The mother of Loren Roberts also came, a quiet, pale woman, whose husband had died of tuberculosis induced by a saw-mill accident which smashed his ribs into his lungs; she said that Loren was a good boy and had supported her and her younger children. Only four of the defendants were without family responsibilities, young Bert Bland, a Centralia

boy; Ray Becker, son of an eastern clergyman; James McInerney, a fighting Irishman and class-conscious worker; and Britt Smith, the I. W. W. secretary, who had seen the inside of most of Washington's lumber camps.

The tragedy of Centralia, like the earlier tragedy of Everett, had its roots in the lumber industry of the State of Washington; in the camps where men herd together in bunk-houses, with little chance to bathe or to dry their clothes, enduring a state of damp untidiness through the chilly, rainy winters. The I. W. W. is especially strong among these lumber-jacks, who move from camp to camp, always in the vain hope of finding something better.

The industrial background of the Centralia shooting would have been more clearly brought out had not the judge refused to admit a large mass of testimony offered by the defense. Mr. Vanderveer offered to prove an intricate conspiracy, connecting the business men of Centralia, the Employers' Association of the State, and even the State officials at Olympia, with the plan to raid the I. W. W. hall as the first step in a State-wide drive against the I. W. W. He offered to prove that the manager of the Employers' Association of Washington visited Centralia and urged the forming of a citizens' protective league to get rid of "reds"; that after the I. W. W. hall opened last fall a meeting was held at the Elks Club, at which the chief of police stated that there was no lawful way to run the I. W. W. members out of town, whereupon a secret committee was formed to "handle the I. W. W. problem"; that a proposed raid on Armistice Day was discussed in the town, and that Warren O. Grimm had cognizance of it and supported it. Mr. Vanderveer also offered in evidence the account of the raid made on the former hall by the Red Cross parade two years before. All of this testimony was ruled out by the judge, "unless an overt act by Grimm himself could first be shown." When Vanderveer then introduced witnesses who saw Grimm with the attacking party, or coming wounded from the direction of the hall, the prosecution arrested two of them on a charge of perjury as soon as they had finished their testimony.

Whether or not the raid on Armistice Day was definitely planned as part of a State-wide drive against the I. W. W., the Centralia tragedy did result in such a drive against the organization, and all persons remotely connected with it in the public mind.

Many members of the I. W. W., claiming the expediency of their tactics of self-defense, state in proof that "there have been no more of our halls raided and wrecked by mobs since we showed that we would fight back." On the other hand, cases in court against members of the I. W. W. have been influenced adversely by the Centralia tragedy. Before Armistice Day, all cases of so-called "criminal syndicalism" in the Northwest had resulted in acquittal; since the Armistice Day parade, nearly all have resulted in convictions, with sentences ranging from a year to fifteen years for persons whose sole crime was mere membership in the organization.

Labor councils throughout the Northwest are beginning to demand that the lynchers of Wesley Everest be prosecuted. The friends of Everest have many names of lynchers, including prominent citizens of Centralia. Prosecuting Attorney Allen has promised to prosecute if there is sufficient evidence.

And so, for more reasons than one, the Centralia tragedy is an unfinished story, for the conditions in the logging

camps that produced Everett and Centralia still exist. "The reading-rooms are turned into store-rooms, the unfinished baths are not being finished. New camps established last October are still without toilets. The only thing that keeps conditions jacked up to even half-decency is the fear of God which the I. W. W. puts into the hearts of the employers."

This was the testimony of a churchman. Fear is not a secure foundation for an enduring structure of human relations. So long as it remains the foundation of life in the woods of Washington, the story of Centralia will remain—unfinished.

"The Most Brainiest Man"

A BOND salesman named Herbert Warner walked into a clothing store in Waterbury, Connecticut, in January. He had been told that some one there might buy bonds. Joseph Yenowsky, a salesman, met him. Yenowsky's savings consisted of \$300 in Liberty bonds, and he refused to convert them. The result was an argument about bonds, sugar, and Lenin, followed by Yenowsky's conviction under the Connecticut Sedition law, and his sentence to six months in jail.

This Connecticut Sedition law, be it said, is one of the shortest and most comprehensive laws on the statute books. "No person," it declares, "shall in public, or before any assemblage of ten or more persons, advocate in any language any measure, doctrine, proposal, or propaganda intended to injuriously affect the Government of the United States or the State of Connecticut." The measure advocated, it will be noted, need not involve force or illegality; the sole test of its criminality is some one's opinion as to what is "injurious."

Now Yenowsky is a Socialist and a member of the American Legion, and on both counts he disliked a bond salesman who had never been in the army. When Warner suggested opportunities for rapid wealth, Yenowsky retorted "There is only one way of making money quick, and that is to steal it." "Steal in a legal way," he explained. "Rockefeller, he can go out and steal millions and get away with it."

Here the testimony diverges. According to Warner, "We talked on some things which I do not remember." According to Yenowsky, Warner thought Rockefeller's method "a good way to get ahead." This naturally led the discussion to wander. It touched the price of sugar, and led to a copy of the *Liberator* lying on the table. Yenowsky pointed to a picture of Lenin.

"There is what I consider one of the brainiest men in the world," he says he remarked. According to Warner, however, he declared that Lenin was "the greatest, the most brainiest man on earth today."

"Are you sure he used that expression?" the Magistrate asked, when the case came up in court.

"Yes."

"The most brainiest man on earth?"

"Yes, the greatest and the most brainiest man."

"Which did he say?"

"He said the most brainy man on earth today."

"He said the most brainy, not the most brainiest, man?"

"Yes."

"On earth today?"

"Yes."

This matter settled, the Court relapsed into silence.

Warner, however, had more to say. He insisted that a third man had intervened to declare that Yenowsky was a "Bolsheviki." According to Warner, Yenowsky had also said he did not like the government of the United States, and would like to see a soviet form of government here, but that he would not go back to Russia because he was going "to stay here and fight for the freedom of the government." At that, Warner reported, "I got so thoroughly wrought up I could not stand it any longer." So he went out and got a detective to arrest Yenowsky.

This entire conversation was denied by Yenowsky. It was also denied by Abraham Lichtenstein, proprietor of the clothing store, who heard the discussion, and by another employee. The man who, according to Warner, had intervened to declare Yenowsky was "a Bolsheviki," could not be discovered, and the only other witnesses at the trial were character witnesses for the defendant. Lichtenstein remembered the argument about bonds, but had heard nothing about the government of the United States or soviets. "They were arguing about the bonds, see," he testified, "and he said he has got enough bonds, and he showed him the picture. That is where that man got hot-headed. . . . Mr. Yenowsky said 'He [Lenin] is a brave man,' and that

is all." Louis Levine, the other clerk, heard them "arguing about sugar, twenty-five cents a pound, and then they were talking about bank bonds, and then when the argument was all over Mr. Warner got hot-headed and asked Mr. Yenowsky for his name, and Mr. Yenowsky refused to give him his name, and he went out and he brought a detective with him and they took Mr. Yenowsky to the station."

Charles M. Peach, twice Socialist candidate for mayor of Waterbury, and John W. Ring, secretary of the Socialist local, testified to Yenowsky's reputation for truth and veracity, and that they had never discovered symptoms of communism or anarchism in his conversation.

The Court was once more aroused to interest. "You did not talk about the principles of Lenin or Trotzky or any of those people?" The Court was back on the trail of the most brainiest man. "No," Ring replied, "I know nothing about them only what I have read in the newspapers here."

"And more than most of us want to know about them," came from the Magistrate.

The defense rested. There was no summing-up.

"I will take jurisdiction," the Court announced immediately. "Six months in jail. Bonds for an appeal, \$1,000."

L. S. G.

Houses: The Need*

By ARTHUR GLEASON

THERE is a national shortage of houses. Cities, towns, and villages suffer alike from the restriction of two years of war upon building. The *Building Age* says "A careful estimate, based on the most reliable available data, places the country's need at 500,000 homes." But a Chicago report to an architectural journal states that this one city is "short 75,000 to 100,000 homes." The admirable report of the Housing Committee of the Reconstruction Commission of the State of New York gives the need of apartments in New York City as 40,000. It is fair to say that the estimate of 500,000 as the national shortage is the strict minimum, immediately required to check congestion, eviction, and an un-American standard of living. The estimate does not include a constructive housing program. The present housing shortage may be traced back to 1907 when the cost of construction began to mount.

Building contracts, for the territory east of the Missouri and north of the Ohio Rivers, show for February of this year 42 per cent for industrial building, 20 per cent business, 20 per cent public work and utilities, 17 per cent residential buildings. The building figures for the year of 1919 show an increase in value over earlier years. But when the rise in costs is allowed for, the actual volume of building in December, 1919, amounts to about the same as in December, 1912, or 1913. And the tendency is toward commercial buildings rather than homes. Further, plans are not buildings. The *New York Times* of April 4 reports that of 94 plans filed in the Borough of the Bronx in 1919 for the construction of buildings containing 3,964 apartments, 14 were carried to completion—fewer than one-sixth of those planned.

As the Housing Committee of the New York Reconstruction Commission puts it: "Decent homes and wholesome

environments in which to bring up children cost more than most workers can afford."

The simple fact is that the worker as a labor unit can be more easily disposed of in the flow of business than the worker as a person with human needs that include a home. The report of the United States Housing Corporation says: "Industrial plant investment, including the housing of machinery and of the workers during work hours, is relatively small as compared with the investment required properly to house and keep in working efficiency the workers and their families outside of work hours." Certain New York realty men state that rents will increase by 200 per cent within two or three years. And one of the wisest of them has said: "Rents will never get back to the pre-war basis. And there isn't any possibility of building enough houses within the next ten years." The housing problem includes:

The present shortage—an emergency.

The need of minimum standards in decency—"the pathological aspect of housing."

The need of good homes—a program of reconstruction.

Statistics of misery have determined much of our social policy, and the picturesque evils of foul tenements have been regarded as the housing problem. But by standardizing minima of decency, we do not build worthy homes for the whole community. We have studied and somewhat safeguarded the inarticulate poor, taking in tenants, doubling up families, and moving to lower grades of foulness. But a larger constructive plan of building has not been developed. "A mass of restrictive legislation, limited largely to the multiple dwelling as a prevailing type"—taxes on enterprise, sabotage, government bureaucratic control or management of private business, state aid—these intrusions are not sufficient of themselves to build houses. As Edith Wood shows in her valuable but mistitled book, 'The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner' (which envisages

*This is the first of two articles. The second, to be printed next week, will deal with suggested remedies for the housing shortage.

the entire problem and not that of the subnormal alone), one-third of the people of the United States are living under subnormal housing conditions, conditions which fall below a minimum standard. The 1910 census showed there were 20,255,000 families in the United States of whom 10,697,000 lived in rented houses.

Our actual housing system has tended to destroy the home, to penalize private property, and, in the stratum of the subnormal, to nationalize women. (See the investigations of Mr. George Kneeland for Mr. Rockefeller's Bureau of social hygiene).

It was possible to say of the home building of five centuries ago that "every street had a Gothic profile." But the most accurate and brilliant summary of our deposit today is that of Emile Hovelague:

The monotonous succession of smoke-grimed cubes of brick, all similar and sordid, a symbol of the sordid similar lives they shelter; the endless lines of wretched homes which all over the greater industrial centers endlessly repeat, with the insistence of a maniac, their somber invariable rectangles, cluster on cluster, mile after dreary mile of mean and crushing hideousness, as though some spawn of insect life had settled there and swarmed. Is it in order to produce an architecture no higher than that of a coral reef, to bring into God's light such forms of life, such visions, such monotonies of hideous depression, that a society is born?

The individual home, self-contained, self-respecting, with its bit of garden and sunshine, and its touch of stillness and solitude, is perishing from the earth. Human life is not richer in dignity than in former times, but less rich. Town-blight, cramped quarters, foul air, canned food, herd life, have wrought their work till John Galsworthy says: "We do not realize the great deterioration of our stock; the squashed-in, stunted, disproportionate, commonized look of the bulk of our people. Ugliness has become a matter of course."

The buildings grow larger and higher, the rents increase, the rooms grow smaller, so that a typical modern nomad tenant can begin to see the walls close in on him, while he pays in proportion to the tightness of the squeeze.

Through no fault of its own, private enterprise, working for profits under price competition and price-fixing, with taxations, finds itself unable to build houses in sufficient numbers. This is not a New York situation, nor an American situation. It is not local. It is a universal crisis in the Western World. What I saw in London in January, I find in New York in April. Coventry, England, is in the same way as Buffalo, New York. The shortage of houses in Britain is at least half a million. Interventions by the Government in the last eleven years have only availed to make a bad situation worse. The next ten years may see a need of 1,630,000 dwellings, as Sir Kingsley Wood, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health suggests.

Now, it is the duty of the business man, handling speculative money, to place it where the returns will be swift and "fat" (to quote a real estate owner). He is not in business for his health nor for the health of home-seekers. To expect business men to turn from sliding-scale profits to non-remunerative or fixed-return-on-capital services, is to ask them to yield the fortress of private enterprise. In recent days and up to the present moment, there has been more money in doing brokerage tricks with the existent supply of houses than in creating a new supply. Real estate men have been "starving" for eight years. And now, the last of business men, they enter the land of plenty. Long after

food and clothing and the joys of life have soared to the sky and rewarded the good guessers who control their output, the land investor, land speculator, landlord, and realty broker take their turn at taxing the community for their service as business men.

As the British Government Committee on Trusts showed, combinations prevail in nearly every branch of business for the purpose of regulating production and restricting competition, so as to restrict output; fixing a common price and controlling the price; delimiting markets. Into the market price of every important commodity there enters, at the various processes of its production and distribution, a series of profits that load it, a pyramid that weighs down like gravity. The final unhappy man who has to market the product is then called a profiteer. But he has merely tacked on his little tax to the dozen other taxes that began with the product when it was raw material and that attach themselves to it through its life journey. With land and the house upon it, the same piling of charges takes place—interest on interest, profits on profits—till the twentieth of an acre and its fragile building stagger under the necessary, legalized load. The final builder or broker pays taxes on his improvement and the land he has improved, "plus all the profits of three or four and sometimes as many as ten land speculators. An examination of the tax books of two Rhode Island cities has shown instances of increases in purchasing value of land from 100 to 650 per cent in less than fifteen years." As Dr. Carol Aronovici, Director of Housing for the California State Commission of Immigration and Housing, says "The burden of final cost is placed upon the builder and the return upon this cost must be secured in rents which the tenant pays."

The memorandum attached to the British trust report showed that 25 per cent of the materials that go to the building of an average house are subject to full control by combined business interests, and that 33 per cent more are partially controlled, for the purposes of so restricting output as to control prices. Such concerted organization and control relieve the associated business men from subjection to the "law of demand and supply" as regards the prices at which their products are sold to the consumer. Thus is created "a series of industrial monarchies or republics enjoying a sovereignty of their own as regards the amount they will allow to be produced and the prices at which they sell. Freedom from public control will then mean not free competition, but concerted or unified control by private interests."

The total cost of cottages was then analyzed (excluding cost of the developed site), and it was found that of that total cost 40.74 per cent was labor and overhead, 14.64 per cent controlled building material, and 19.68 per cent partially controlled. An association, including 90 per cent of the manufacturers of one class of goods needed in the construction of workers' cottages, headed its rules thus:

(1) The object the Association has in view is that of raising and keeping up the price to the buyer of goods and articles made and (or) supplied by its members.

(2) This shall be done by means of pooling arrangements so controlling production that prices will rise naturally and inevitably, as they always must do when supply is brought into equilibrium with or is ever so little below demand.

To limit competition, to control and restrict output, to increase prices!

The Housing Committee of the Reconstruction Commission of the State of New York reports on this point:

It seems from such preliminary examinations as have been made that prices may be artificially maintained by a combination, expressed or implied, which certainly requires full investigation. If the Attorney General or the District Attorneys do not find that there is a crime, legislation should be enacted that will prevent the action of combinations that make it practically impossible to build houses, because of the artificial raising of prices and limiting of supply of essential materials.

This restriction of output by the business interests is not only legitimate, but necessary, because they cannot operate the system except under the interaction of prices and profits. If the charges which they make upon industry are disallowed, the whole structure of private enterprise would not only be endangered but destroyed. As the *New York Times* puts it, "A liberal margin of profit, adapted to the speculative chances involved, must be allowed to the real estate investor." It must. And his is only one of a dozen liberal margins of profit which the poor house must carry.

Now these charges (with labor charges, which will be referred to later), have fallen upon every item of American building material. The technical magazine *Factory* works out the costs in 1913 and 1919 of a typical six-room American dwelling. It finds a labor increase of 65 per cent and an increase in cost of materials of 71 per cent. This increase runs through every element of material—cinderfill, concrete foundation walls, waterproof painting, plastering.

This unavoidable sabotage of business men is for the moment revealed rather nakedly in the matter of housing which affects the comfort of fairly large numbers of persons. The accusation of profiteering has gone up against those particular men who control such commodities as houses and food. But this easy condemnation misses the fact that limitation of these commodities causes annoyance in a dramatic form, and that the same restriction of output and jockeying of the market in other commodities do not lead to mass meetings. So-called profiteering is merely the profit-making system (the necessary instrument of private business enterprise) at work on certain essential commodities, which, if produced in sufficient amount, would keep a population alive, comfortable, and quiet. Frederick L. Ackerman, who was chief of the Division of Town Planning and Housing Design of the United States Shipping Board, says:

What animates the speculator is the prospect of profits; hence if it chances that the building of habitations is likely to prove an agreeable speculative adventure, habitations become the medium of speculation. The significance to be found in this simple statement is that the house of the common man is a by-product. The system of price competition and investment for profit would not operate without a shortage and the high rents. If there were no shortage, the system spoken of as "modern business enterprise" would not function at all.

Not only that. The denunciation of the business man, carrying out the principles and practice of the last hundred years, which has created its own ethic, fails to include the worker. If the sabotage of the business man is almost universal, so is the sabotage of the worker. And unlike that of the business man, the worker's sabotage is not inevitable except as he chooses to make it so. For several generations he accepted his status as that of a commodity, and a minimum subsistence as his level in the cosmic scheme. The profit-making system is pivoted on his docility. It is only today that he begins to refuse to operate industry for an unrestricted profit-making system. By recurrent wage demands, by shortening hours, by "soldier-

ing," by sectional strikes, he eats the profits out of industry. There will shortly come a time when business men will frankly come to the community and say they cannot operate the business system, because there are no profits in it. That day has arrived in the British coal mines and railways. It has apparently arrived in housing both in England and the United States. The house of today, as it tries to get itself built, is weighed down by an overlay of golden charges—taxes, profits, interest, every item of material, every stroke of labor.

Out of dim childhood we all remember the story of the little boy in the pageant who was selected to play the fairy prince. They overlaid his body with leaf gold, leaving no interstices through which his body could breathe. So he played the part of the happy prince, clad in his shining gold, sitting very stiffly. And at the end they found him dead.

Agrarian Control in Canada

By J. A. STEVENSON

"WHAT I want and what I wish to secure and what as far as my energies go, I will secure, is the preponderance of the landed interest," wrote Benjamin Disraeli in 1843, and all through his writings and speeches runs the dream of an enlightened landed aristocracy guiding the destinies of the nation. Were the shrewd old Tory statesman to be reincarnated in the year 1920 in Canada, which in common with the other colonies he once described as a millstone around Great Britain's neck, he would have the gratification of finding a "landed interest" on the high road to political supremacy, if not in actual possession of it. The farmers of Canada have now determinedly set their hand to the task of political revolution and the reordering of society on a new basis.

In the early nineties there developed in Canada, partly from local causes and partly through infection from the Populist movement in the United States, a strong agrarian movement whose adherents called themselves "The Patrons of Industry," a name originally coined in Michigan. The Oxford scholar, Goldwin Smith, then living in exile in Toronto and outraged at the misdeeds of the two historic parties, lent his vitriolic pen to their campaign and "Patron" members were elected to the Federal and to some Provincial Houses. But Henry Ford and Graham Bell had not yet arrived on the scene to facilitate communication in rural Canada; organizations were hard to maintain without the baits of office and patronage. When the ablest leaders had been silenced with appointments to homestead inspectorships and immigration agencies, both old parties conspired to crush the movement as an untimely nuisance, and it petered out ignominiously about 1901. But in the year 1904 symptoms of agrarian discontent appeared again in the west. Graingrowers' associations were formed to fight the alliance of railways, banks, elevator companies, and manufacturers who held the farmer in their grip; they secured some urgent reforms by political pressure, and their anti-tariff agitation forced Mr. Laurier's Liberal Government to embark upon its fatal reciprocity enterprise. But the westerners had learnt the story of Denmark and Sir Horace Plunkett's work in Ireland and for the time being wisely concentrated their energies upon economic organization along coöperative lines. They grad-

ually built up, in United Graingrowers Limited and the Saskatchewan Coöperative Elevator Company, two strong institutions which now control between them a large share of the rural commerce of western Canada. To these in recent years have been added the United Farmers Coöperative Company of Ontario, whose business in 1919 increased fivefold, from \$1,765,000 to \$8,500,000, and lesser organizations in British Columbia, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces. At first the organized farmers religiously avoided politics, but the rapid extension of their business activities soon brought them into conflict with that great invisible government of financial and business interests, which for the last generation has skilfully manipulated both parties for its own profit and never for a moment relaxed its control of Canada. At Ottawa and in a lesser degree in the provincial legislatures the farmers found the cards carefully stacked against them; redress for grievances was hard to attain and bills to assist their coöperative projects were ruthlessly slaughtered. It became plain that if their dreams were to be realized, political action was necessary as a corollary to economic organization. By the outbreak of the war they were sure of controlling thirty seats in the prairie provinces and had developed in the *Graingrowers' Guide*, which has a circulation of 72,000, a powerful organ of their own. When the Coalition Government was formed in 1917, Mr. T. A. Crerar, the acknowledged leader of the farmers, joined it as Minister of Agriculture.

When the armistice came, the farmers were eager to resume their interrupted projects. The Canadian Council of Agriculture, which was to coördinate the operations of the various agrarian bodies published a program designated the "New National Policy," in happy imitation of the name which Sir John Macdonald gave in 1878 to his protectionist schemes. Its salient features were drastic tariff revision, including free trade with Great Britain; heavier direct taxation; federal succession duties; abolition of the Senate; proportional representation; conservation of unalienated natural resources for the state; abolition of titles and government patronage; publication of election campaign funds; development of coöperative agencies; and public ownership of railways, telegraphs, and telephones. It was a direct and vigorous challenge to the old economic and political order and took away the breath of the managers of the old parties, who for thirty years had been conducting sham battles and stifling all real issues.

Events progressed a step further when Mr. Crerar, who possesses both business ability and a strong strain of practical idealism, resigned from the Cabinet in May, 1919, rather than accept the usual high protectionist budget, and established, with eleven other western insurgents, a cross-bench group at Ottawa. His departure was the signal for the lighting of political campfires in every rural division west of the Ottawa River; constituencies were prospected carefully, conventions held, and political associations formed. The field was peculiarly well tilled for the crop which was to be sown. On the one hand, Laurier's death had released a sentimental tie which alone bound many rural voters to the Liberal party, and the formation of the Coalition which defeated him had severed other bonds, for the Tory party had been swallowed up in the Unionist. The Coalition, which contained a large measure of the "damaged goods" of both old parties, suffered from the common vice of all coalitions, lack of a coherent mind, aggravated by the long absence of its head in London and Paris. Not only did it fail to

usher in the new world which it promised, but it developed a positive delight in reactionary and arbitrary measures and failed even to provide efficient administration.

The Canadian farmer had never lacked grievances, mostly genuine, some few imaginary; but they had accumulated and become intensified in the war years. Prior to 1914, after he had secured his land patent, a farmer's contact with the Government at Ottawa was comparatively slight. He met it periodically at elections and periodically cursed its tariff exactions, but there his connection ended. The necessities of war, however, brought unparalleled intrusions of the hand of the state into the life of the Canadian people. The average agriculturist in particular now began to have dealings with the Government regarding conscription, food control, income tax, casualties, and other incidents of war. There were also special war-time additions to the tariff schedules and tax-free bonds in which the plutocracy could stow away their war profits. When conscription came, exemption was promised to all agriculturists, but was afterward summarily cancelled; and finally daylight saving was foisted on the country by means of urban pressure. When statistics were published showing that the farmers, with almost 50 per cent of the population, furnished only 18 per cent of Canada's 884 legislators, that the lawyers, less than 5,000 in number, monopolized 25 per cent, the veil was torn asunder.

The first blow was struck in Ontario, which has long been the stronghold of Canadian Toryism; its people are mainly Scotch Presbyterian and Orangemen by racial origin, and as long as Laurier lived could be counted to elect a solid Conservative phalanx to meet his Catholic cohorts from Quebec. But encouraged by winning two by-elections, the United Farmers of Ontario proceeded to disseminate propaganda and nominate candidates for the Ontario legislature. They also managed to arrange a working alliance with Labor, whereby the two groups divided certain ridings which were partly rural and partly industrial and agreed upon mutual support.

The provincial Tory Government, which held 77 seats out of 111 at the time of dissolution and had won every election since 1904, was expected to return with a majority in the fall elections over all other parties combined. When the polls were declared on October 20, 1919, the result paralyzed the political prophets. The agrarian-labor combination which had only contested 90 seats secured an actual majority, electing 45 farmer and 12 labor candidates. The Liberals remained stationary, but Toryism was overwhelmed and reduced to 27 seats, mostly secured in three-cornered contests. The victorious alliance, despite its narrow majority, accepted the responsibility of forming a Government, and a Cabinet of eight farmers and two laborites came into existence under the premiership of Mr. E. C. Drury, who farms his own holding of 250 acres near Lake Simcoe. The new Premier is well educated and an excellent speaker, and while he is new to Parliament, has long figured in public life as a spokesman of the farmers' interests. But he shares his parliamentary inexperience with all his colleagues and followers and has been compelled to resort to the ranks of the Liberal party for an Attorney General.

The fall elections did not end the farmers' triumphs. At a miniature general election for the Federal House, held later in the season, out of the eight seats which had to be filled, the agrarians contested four, leaving the others to be

split as before between the old parties. But they managed to wrest the four which they contested from the Coalition, which had carried them comfortably in 1917, by substantial majorities. This turnover brought the politicians at Ottawa to a state of bewilderment and despair. It meant that scarcely a rural seat in Canada was safe from the agrarian hordes and 150 out of the 235 Federal seats may be classed as rural. The Liberals have taken comfort in the fact that their fortress in Quebec has so far been immune from the plague of political activity among the farmers, but when it is raging in Ontario and New Brunswick a political *cordon sanitaire* is hard to maintain. Luckily, Mr. Ernest Lapointe, the able young Liberal who is now regarded as Laurier's successor in the political leadership of Quebec, is sympathetic to the agrarian program.

There are two clearly defined schools of thought in the agrarian movement. One looks to the upbuilding of a nation-wide radical party in whose ranks the organized farmers, labor, the Great War Veterans' Association, and progressive members of the middle classes would coalesce and find a common medium of political action. Deserters from the two old parties would be welcomed. The result would be more or less a sanctified Liberal party doing the things which the old Liberal party left undone and moving at a radical pace. The other school, which is strongest in Alberta, asserts that the creation of a new national party is a futile proceeding because such organization can only persist by means of recurring compromises which make them both corrupt and conservative and leave them an easy victim to the designs of the financial interests. In their eyes functional rather than territorial representation in Parliament will soon be the accepted ideal of democracy. In their view the bi-party system is played out and not worth reviving. They welcome occupational group politics as an improvement and insist that it is the logical outcome of proportional representation, to which the conservatives and protectionists of Canada, in terror of agrarian predominance, are being converted wholesale. For the supporters of the group idea the chief problem is to devise a form of government which will accommodate not merely two parties, but several groups. This development, if it comes to pass, would produce some curious results, and among other things would make an end of the hitherto sacrosanct British principle of collective cabinet responsibility.

There is general agreement that the Coalition is doomed to overwhelming defeat when the electors are allowed to pass judgment on its record, and the main problem is whether the Liberals or the Agrarians will be the stronger group in the next Parliament. Mr. Mackenzie King in his latest speeches has been attempting to prove that beneath the aspirations of the farmers, labor, and the war veterans is the great underlying principle of liberalism. But the farmers at least have long memories and will wait to see the new liberalism of Mr. King put to some practical tests before they succumb to its allurements. Only if Mr. King and the official Liberals can prove by deeds that they are completely free from the control of the financial mandarins who have ruled Canada too long for its good can they secure the coöperation of the other democratic forces. Meanwhile, at Ottawa, Sir Robert Borden's followers in the Coalition sit like victims of the Terror waiting for the guillotine to fall and cursing the patriotic impulse which induced their leader to form the Union Government in 1917 and undermine the old party fabrics.

Standing in the Need of Prayer

By JAMES RORTY

It's me, Lord, it's me,
Standing in the need of prayer;
'Tain't my father, 'tain't my mother,
'Tain't my sister, 'tain't my brother,
'Tain't my pastor, 'tain't my teacher—
It's me, Lord, it's me!
Standing in the need of prayer.

IT was the opera singer who contributed this note of introspection and mysticism to an evening which was otherwise 100 per cent American; an occasion similar, I imagine, to other American Legion gatherings. She, being an artist, could scarcely sing at all without giving something of herself, and, although she complained of the smoke, she sang excellently and was loudly applauded. So were the two young lady entertainers (formerly "Y" girls with the A. E. F.) whose function at the party was to register American womanhood and sing songs about "That's why I'm blue (and lonesome too)." So were a group of young men at one of the tables who contributed red-blooded renditions of "K-K-K-Katy," "Pack up your troubles" and other herd rhythms which I have come to dread as the missionary in darkest Africa dreads the sound of the tom-tom. It seems to me almost as if every time there comes to the American spirit a moment of pause, when reflection and prayer might ensue, somebody hastens to slip a nickel into the automatic piano, and then the jig is up—or on, as you choose to put it. But I must proceed with my story of the evening.

Well, Mable, it was a beefsteak dinner, as you might have guessed without my having to tell you, and scarcely the place, all things considered, for a near-Socialist who is also almost a vegetarian. However, I, too, in my simple Greco-American way, had been feeling the need of an orgy, and, believe me, it wasn't so bad. It was the first meeting of the post that I had attended, and as I looked around I couldn't help wondering if all young America was like that, or if the American Legion had a special attraction for the highly extraverted motor types. Exception should be made of two chaps who had been in the quartermaster's corps and who had served their country in the drygoods line both before, during, and after the war. Always in the same line. It seemed to me that they held the record for minding their own business, and talking to them put me in a thoroughly good humor for the dinner.

We sat down, everybody put on butchers' aprons, and the waiter came around and buzzed in your ear. Sometimes he didn't even take the trouble to lower his voice. He said "If any of you gentlemen want a cocktail, you can have one, and it will cost you sixty-five cents." So I, being every bit as lawless as my fellow members, had one and found it good.

The beefsteak was served in little slices resting on pieces of bread, and it seemed to me that we ate an extraordinary number of those little slices. We also had a chop apiece, which we ate Afro-American style with our fingers. In the intervals of the service we wiped our fingers on the butchers' aprons, stamped on the floor, lifted our heads, and bayed forth 100 per cent Americanism in unaffected pæans of praise, such as "Hail, hail, the gang's all here!" and "Oh, Liza, Oh, Liza, Li'l Liza Jane." For some reason we didn't sing "The Star Spangled Banner" once, and this morning,

as I rub my head and think it over, I find myself still dazed and suffering because of that incomprehensible omission in the program.

As I listened to the Legion give tongue (I helped too, of course), I found myself thinking of another "sing" I had heard some months before when the weather was warm. I remembered a street on the Harlem east side, packed from curb to curb with aliens of all sorts—Russian Jews, Italians, Slovaks, both children and grownups—all of them singing in unison with the most impressive earnestness, so that hearing them one felt buoyed up by a tremendous wave of aspiration and desire. At the time I had thought "If only we could give this depth of feeling some expression a little richer than "K-K-K-Katie" or "Li'l Liza Jane"; if we could only harness this power to symbols a little more serviceable than "She's a grand old rag, she's a high-flying flag." The song sheet used at that street "sing" was the same one which was distributed at our tables. But the spirit of the singing was different. Those foreigners still hoped, aspired, *believed* in America. Whereas we Legionaries—well, we *are* America. At least we say we are. I was not thrilled by our singing.

"Keep on singing," urges the song folder issued by the War Camp Community Service. "Let us have a Singing, Smiling, United People." At which I ejaculate piously: "In God's name, let us have nothing of the sort. We had a united people during the war. The draft threw all the young men into the army and pounded and scrambled them into a herd—which the Y. M. C. A. and other welfare agencies tried to galvanize into the semblance of emotional life by teaching it primitive herd rhythms. Now that the war is over, let us, if possible, stop bellowing and emphasize our disparateness.

Let us go apart, each of us, and let us sing and smile and grieve and try to save our individual souls. And let us not come together again until we can look at each other, face to face, and find in each other's eyes something besides panic. Above all, let us avoid singing, at least until our singing comes to mean something more than mere noise. And let us not try to force our culture on other people until we have achieved it for ourselves."

I have already noted that "The Star Spangled Banner" was not sung. It was waved, however, in the speeches, with varying degrees of taste. One of the speakers gave some personal reminiscences of the brave and generous statesman and soldier for whom the post is named. He spoke with much charm and fineness of feeling, and his reminiscences, being about a man of genuine distinction, were extraordinarily interesting. In the concluding sentences of his remarks, however, it seemed to me that he fell from this high plane. Of course the Legion was non-political, he said, but he felt it his duty to utter certain warnings. He for one was tired of this hands-across-the-sea, international stuff.

This *laissez-aller* policy wouldn't do. Look what had happened in the matter of prohibition. Before the war, if anybody had said that we would have prohibition in 1920, he would have been thought crazy. And now look at us! At which there were murmurs of approval, and the waiters who had served the drinks, roused out of their bartenders' melancholia by the consciousness of moral support for their "wet" point of view, looked almost cheerful. Same way with Socialism, continued the speaker. It would be on us in no time if we didn't watch out.

"It's you fellows that will have to stand for the old order of things," he concluded. "Not entirely the old order, of course, but—evolution moves slowly. It's you fellows, I hope, that will run this country during the next twenty-five years."

Of course, when he said "You fellows," he didn't mean me. Yet why not? I am a citizen. I vote. I served in the war. I am a member of the Legion. Of course I am by way of being a liberal. But the Legion is a non-political organization and presumably opens its arms to ex-soldiers of all political creeds, including not only liberals, but Socialists and Communists and Bolsheviks, provided, of course, that they do not break the country's laws (excepting of course such incidental lapses as cocktails, which are strictly between ourselves).

No, he didn't mean me. If I had had any illusions on that score, they were shattered by the next speaker, who concluded his remarks by waving his arms and shouting "My country, may she ever be right, but my country, right or wrong"—which, by the way, I was morally certain he would do when he started in. I am one of those people who think that the American Legion is not quite as silly as it all too frequently acts and sounds. But even I can see no profit in having a group of young men listen to an orator of the vintage of 1850, who declares that the Constitution represents almost the inspiration of Almighty God—and who omits to mention that the holiest thing about it is that it contains in itself the provisions for its own alteration or amendment.

As the evening progressed I began to ask myself with increasing insistence whether this group had really any satisfactory reason for being. The preservation of memories of the war? But the duty of forgetting is quite as important as that of remembering. The continuance of the democratic comradeship developed in the service? Scarcely. That democracy was largely mythical, fortunately or unfortunately.

Military associations are naturally and necessarily for the most part forced associations, stimulating to a degree, of course, but there is rarely any justification for their continuance in time of peace. If a group has some sort of moral or social significance, it will usually hold together. If it has not, it will break apart, or be held together only by liens of economic interest—in this case the necessity of group action in order to make the Government do something for the old soldiers.

It does not seem to me that the Legion needs to go into moral bankruptcy. But I do feel that it is very distinctly "Standing in the need of prayer." It must loosen the hold of reactionaries upon it, live up to its "non-political" pretensions, and stop regarding itself as the sole repository of the national virtue.

Is it too much to hope that the Legion will ever stop shouting long enough to indulge in a little wholesome self-questioning? Is it possible for anything to make a breach in its complacency? Will the Legion ever come to the point of saying to itself "It's me, Lord, it's me," and, ceasing its efforts to serve as its brother's keeper—or jailer, begin to examine, honestly and realistically, the quality of its own idealism?

One cannot predict, but one can hope and . . . Perhaps it will not be considered too presumptuous if I and my comrade Bolsheviks pause in our revolutionary labors long enough to offer them a brief meed of prayer?

Navaho Songs

ADAPTED BY EDA LOU WALTON

Day-break Song

All night the gods were with us,
Now night is gone.
Silence the rattle,
Sing the day-break song,
For in the dawn Blue-bird calls
With voice melodious, Blue-bird calls,
And out from his blankets of tumbled gray
The Sun comes, combing his hair for the day.

Voices that Beautify the Earth

Voice above,
Voice of Thunder,
Speak from the dark of clouds;
Voice below,
Grasshopper voice,
Speak from the green of plants;
So may the earth be beautiful!

Weapon Song

Look, I make it beautiful,
This Axe of mine.
I clip, I clip,
I shine, I shine.
This axe is very glad to be.
I am my axe
And make my axe me.
We melt together.

Maid-who-becomes-a-Bear

Maid-who-becomes-a-Bear
Walks on the summit of blue mountains,
Far around.
Far spreads the land below,
It seems not far to her;
Dim spreads the land below,
It seems not dim to her.

Song of the Stricken Twins

We have cried so long
That our cry has become song!

Vision

I walk with gods,
Gods go before me,
Gods follow after me,
I walk in the middle.

The Marriage Dance

I weave my blanket red,
I weave my blanket blue;
I weave my blanket all my life
Until I come to you.

I bring my blanket red,
I bring my blanket blue;
They are the story of the wife
The gray chief sold to you.

I spread my blanket red,
I spread my blanket blue;
I spread my blankets for your bed.
We belong now to you.

Where my Kindred Are

Where my kindred are, there I wander,
Child of White Corn, I,
Dwelling in the Red-Rock House,
The house of long life,
Of long, long happiness
With my kindred.
Beauty is before me,
Behind me is beauty.
In old age, with my kindred
I shall walk down
The beautiful trail.

Over the Flowing Water

Over the flowing water
My thought wanders
To where my kindred dwell.
Broad is the flowing water
Between me and my kindred,
And the land of my people
Is of earthly beauty.
Only in my old age,
In the broad, slow water of old age,
That flowing, flowing water,
Shall I know again
My people's welcome.

Magpie Song

In the white of his wings
Are the foot-steps of morning.

Song of Those Stricken

From the white plain where stands the water
We are come.
Bereft of eyes one leads the other,
Bereft of limbs one bears the other,
Down to the healing of tall grasses,
Seeking that we may recover,
Praying that we may discover
Healing here.
From the white plain where stands the water
We are come.

Benedictory Chant

Now Talking God,
With your feet I walk,
I walk with your limbs,
I carry forth your body,
For me your mind thinks,
Your voice speaks for me.
Beauty is before me
And beauty behind me.
Above and below me hovers the beautiful.
I am surrounded by it,
I am immersed in it.
In my youth I am aware of it,
And in old age
I shall walk quietly
The beautiful trail.

In the Driftway

ONE of the enterprising young men who discover "interesting people" for the picture pages of the nickel weeklies should look up the genius who rewrites horror news for the Department of State. Many of the loveliest tales that ever came out of Russia, or thereabouts, were hatched in Washington. The Geneva correspondent of the Associated Press, who recently cabled to the United States that Lenin was personally plotting a world-wide general strike for May day, is unimaginative compared with this great brain of the State Department. The lucubrations of this genius usually appear as special dispatches from Washington. On the morning of April 5, for instance, your New Yorker had his choice; he could read of Lenin's latest misdeeds—"official reports to the State Department"—under the heading "Special to the World," "from the Tribune's Washington Bureau," or "Special to the New York Times"; all of these specials manifestly cribbed from the same dope-sheet handed out by the master-mind who outlived Lansing. Indeed, the *World* "Special" and the *Times* "Special" carelessly quoted the same paragraphs whole—and without quotation marks.

* * * * *

SOMETIMES the master-mind slips a cog; on that same April 5 we read of a message from Lenin, dated February 23, and "just received by the State Department." It was printed in French newspapers more than a month before. Much of the misinformation which the interesting person at Washington has put before the American people as "official advices to the State Department" has been just such second-hand trash, culled from the yellow press of Scandinavia. The young man should be written up; the American people love to read about the great men who gull them.

* * * * *

EVERYONE knows how nearly impossible it is to inveigle a child into accepting any information whatever from home sources as of a really superior brand. Father makes a most lucid explanation of the baffling arithmetic "example"—does it so well that he experiences a thrill of self-satisfaction. Son, his forehead puckered, digs a heedless toe into the stuffing of the sofa while he coldly remarks "Teacher didn't explain it like that." Daughter tells an acquaintance before the horrified mother's face that she has "learned to sleep with open windows since joining the Girl Scouts." Mother knows the girl has never slept with her windows shut in all her hygienic young life, thanks to rounds of inspection on extra-cold nights, but—only the strange prophet hath honor, and all home words on fresh air have flowed as gently out of one ear as they did into the other.

* * * * *

AN acquaintance sent her little girl of ten away to a boarding school. "Dear Mother," ran one of the earliest letters, "when I found that I had to break my slice of bread in half, and then those pieces in half, I thought I should never care to eat bread again. But now I do it quite easily." Perfectly dewy-fresh to her young mind, the idea that bread should preferably not be held in one complete slab on the palm of the hand, with a knife slapping butter on! All that Mother had ever said on the subject had slid away like water off a glass mountain.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Tacna-Arica

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: *The Nation* this week gives expression to what seems to be the prevalent misunderstanding about the Tacna-Arica controversy, which is that this is due to Chile's unwillingness to part with the disputed territory because of its mineral resources. Presumably in stating that those provinces contain the richest nitrate of potash fields in the world *The Nation* meant nitrate of soda. But that is not important compared with the fact that the Tacna-Arica region does not contain the nitrate deposits. They are in the provinces of Tarapaca and Antofagasta, neither of which is in any way involved in the dispute over the Tacna-Arica plebiscite. Both those provinces are Chilean territory.

Regarding other statements in *The Nation's* article, if Chile protested loudly when the Peruvian National Assembly passed a resolution for the submission of the whole matter to the League of Nations, it would be interesting to know on what this statement is based. Moreover, the implication that the time-honored game of snatching the spoils while the other two parties (Peru and Bolivia) fight over them will prove irresistible hardly seems to apply, since the Tacna-Arica "spoils," if any there be, are already in the possession of Chile.

New York, April 8

CHARLES M. PEPPER

Schleswig-Holstein

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Christian Anderson's article on Schleswig in *The Nation* for March 13 is contrary to the facts on nearly every point. Schleswig has, as proved by the old Danish place-names and runic inscriptions, been inhabited by Danes as far back as history goes. Mr. Anderson is rather amusing when he says that Jutland in the time of Christ was not inhabited by Danes but by "purely Teuton stock." For to the Teutonic peoples belong not only the Germans, but also the British, the Hollanders, the Norwegians, the Swedes, and the Danes; and the Danes are considerably purer Teutons than the Germans.

Southern and parts of central Schleswig became Germanized through centuries of German aggressiveness and Danish neglect, and Bismarck cleverly made use of this to deprive Denmark of Schleswig as well as of Holstein in 1864. But even Bismarck did not deny that the north Schleswigers were Danes and when Schleswig in 1866 was ceded by Austria to Prussia, he recognized their Danish nationality by agreeing to this reservation in the Treaty of Prague: "The populations of north Schleswig shall be again united with Denmark in the event of their expressing a desire so to be by a vote freely exercised."

Prussia disregarded that clause and finally abrogated it, but, though suppressed and persecuted in every way, the north Schleswigers fought unceasingly for their Danish nationality, electing a Dane and sometimes two to the German Reichstag as well as two Danes to the Prussian Landtag. They never gave up hope of being reunited with Denmark and the hope was fulfilled by the outcome of the Great War.

If Denmark had wished it, she could undoubtedly have had all of Schleswig returned without plebiscites, as France got back Alsace-Lorraine. But Denmark wanted only the Danish parts of Schleswig, and when the peace treaty provided for a plebiscite also in south Schleswig, the Danish Government and Rigsdag protested and succeeded in having the third zone eliminated and given to Germany, as they feared that the south Schleswigers, although thoroughly Germanized, might vote for Denmark for economic and other materialistic reasons. The revised peace treaty provided for plebiscites in only two zones

and they have both taken place. The first zone voted overwhelmingly for Denmark, 75,000 to 25,000. The second zone has voted just as strongly for Germany.

So far so good. Mr. Anderson now claims that what the Schleswigers really want is an independent Schleswig-Holstein. But if there is one thing Danish North Schleswig fears more than anything else, it is a Schleswig-Holstein régime. For in 1865 when the Schleswig-Holsteiners for a time had the upper hand in Schleswig, they oppressed the Danes to such a degree that even Bismarck would not stand for it, but sent a commission to North Schleswig, and as a result of the investigations of this commission some of the worst of the Schleswig-Holsteinian officials were removed.

Danish Legation, Washington, March 25 ROGER NIELSEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The name Schleswig, in Mr. Anderson's article in *The Nation* of March 13, is applied contrary to all usage to the Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein, comprising the former duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig. The province had a little more than a million and a half inhabitants, but of these scarcely half a million—less than one-third—lived in Schleswig.

The main contention of Mr. Anderson is that Schleswig (Schleswig-Holstein, he means) which had at last attained its great desire and had under soviet rule become an integral state in the German federation, was by the treaty of peace forced to disestablish its government and choose between the two evils of incorporation into Prussia or into Denmark. This statement will bear a closer examination. There was at the time of the absorption of the duchies into Prussia, in 1866, a party that desired the formation of a separate state and this faction has been resuscitated in the present Schleswig-Holstein movement. If this group represented the longings of the majority of the people, however, why did the opinion of the majority find almost no expression, while the handful of Danes were boldly and consistently giving utterance to their aspirations? Why were the German Schleswig-Holsteiners fanatically Prussian? The plebiscite was extended to those regions only where there was a strong probability that the people might prefer Danish citizenship, and the boundary line will doubtless be drawn in accordance with the result of this expression of preference. It is difficult to see how a more just settlement could have been planned. The Allies have not tampered with the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein as a whole. The revolutionary Government of the province has its capital at Kiel, safely removed from the region of the plebiscite and from the sphere of the International Commission. Nor is there anything to hinder this Government from resuming control up to the boundary line as soon as that is fixed. That the plebiscite could not be carried out under a German government that has shown itself hostile to Danism—be it autocratic or Soviet—stands to reason.

Northfield, Minnesota, March 30

KAREN LARSEN

Wages in the Building Trades

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of January 24 the statement is made that plasterers and bricklayers receive \$2,700 a year in Seattle, Washington. The writer ventures the opinion that there is not a journeyman plasterer or bricklayer in the country receiving such a sum—not even in the oil fields of Texas, where their wages are \$12 per day (when they work). The average number of days worked per year by these mechanics is around two hundred, and they are paid by the day, not hour.

Few, if any, trades in the building industry have been able to raise their wage to meet the ever-increasing cost of living. Hence the nation-wide discontent with existing conditions.

San Antonio, Texas, March 2

JOSEPH GEORGE

Books

The Wearing of the Pink

Reynard the Fox, or the Ghost Heath Run. By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company.

MR. MASEFIELD has never ceased to benefit by his immersion in England's best poetical traditions, and it is the hope of those who like good verse better than most other good things that he never will. But here is a poem wherein it can be seen precisely what he can and precisely what he cannot afford to spend time emulating in his predecessors. The two parts of this scarlet legend are two extremely clear and interesting lessons in the business, or the art, of adapting poetic personality to models and materials.

Part I, which relates the gathering of seventy fox-hunters at the Cock and Pye, is a not wholly successful attempt at a prologue in the manner of Mr. Masefield's idol, Chaucer. It is no great crime to fall short of Chaucer. Virtually every poet since 1400 has done that. It is once perhaps in a thousand years that common sense of that exquisite sort enters verse. It is not especially against Mr. Masefield that he lacks slyness and drollness and capering humor. And it should be stated on his side that in the present instance he was handicapped by limitations in his theme which Chaucer did not know. Chaucer had all mediæval society to select from and characterize; Mr. Masefield had only that portion of modern society which chases foxes. Everybody went to Canterbury, devout or not; to hunt at all one must be devout—devoutly horsy. So Mr. Masefield could not bank upon absolute contrasts when he set out to sketch the men and women who rode up on a certain morning to the gray three-hundred-year-old inn and waited for the hounds. It is not too much to say that he failed to do the trick in Chaucer's way. Mr. Masefield is perhaps too Anglo-Saxon, too self-conscious, too headlong, to be deft in the analysis of character. The two best hands at the game in English poetry, Chaucer and Dryden, have been in very close contact with the French, who are supreme as observers of disposition. Mr. Masefield reeks with only English earth. He is not easy, or light, or detached; he is over-fond of the tragic. His gestures and his pointings are broad, his epithets are blunt; his comments on human nature sound far-off and professional, not intimate or native. He cannot describe a body or a thing at rest. He and his object must be moving. If life gets photographed at all, it gets snapped on the run. There is occasional vision, sympathy, satire, and tart documentation in Part I; but there is not God's plenty.

Part II shows Mr. Masefield going to the old poets for something which he is much better able to carry away, their music. He is the most enthusiastic and the most enkindling metrician of our day. The noble momentum which opened "The Daffodil Fields" is undiminished here, where not Renaissance stanzas but galloping octosyllabics are employed. He has subordinated phrasing and rhyme to melody and movement. He evidently is one of those who could not compose at all unless they composed imperiously. He is not infrequently clumsy; and he is frequently on the rack for a rhyme. A little more patience in crises of the last sort would have guided him past such glossary-ghosts as tirrit, pyat, shrike (for shriek), grue, poshay, cutted, and awoken. But his haste can be forgiven when it is considered that he arrives. He tells a story; he arouses expectations and he satisfies them; he scores by way of suspense. This second part is pure movement; which is to say, pure Masefield. The hero is not a person, or even an animal; it is a trotting machine, a machine that trots in octosyllabics without a halt until the last page and the last line. We always are very much with the fox; who is alertly, desperately alive from the time he smells the spring and pads away to find a mate to the time that he makes his last leap

over the hedge and hides, nose between paws, under the yews. English place-names mumble by in the wind. English odors drift or dart close along the ground. And always there is this running ribbon of English earth, four feet wide and thick with the green-brown sod of English verse. It is a triumph for meter, for the poet who is not ashamed to stand and sing in uniform.

MARK VAN DOREN

Martyr or Felon?

Debs: His Authorized Life and Letters. By David Karsner. Boni and Liveright.

THE conviction and imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs was the symbol of our war madness. His imprisonment may have been necessary to silence a propagandist whose accusations the Administration would not or could not answer. His continued imprisonment now must serve to silence any who proclaim that democracy is the governing motif of the present Administration. There are hundreds of persons in the prisons of this republic because they committed the "crime" for which Debs was convicted. Their names are unknown; the world is indifferent to their existence. They, too, are witnesses to the false pretense of our democracy. But Debs is the flaming witness.

Was the purpose of Debs's imprisonment to impress upon his mind the fact that he had committed a crime and that he must pay the legal penalty? But how can you punish a man with so compelling a consciousness of the right? In what way can you impress the thousands of his followers with the fact that he is a felon, not a martyr? Imprisonment has neither degraded him nor diminished his influence. Once more in the remorseless conflict between lovers of liberty and the state the lovers of liberty have proved that the state is powerless against them so long as it tries to suppress and destroy their ideals.

"Lift him up so we can all see him," shouted the workers of Woodstock as they pressed about Debs on the day of his release from Woodstock prison, November 23, 1895. And so his imprisonment a second time has served to lift him that all might see him. It has offered the occasion for this volume about him, a *cri de cœur* from one whose love for Debs is very deep and strong. With a modesty becoming the true biographer, Mr. Karsner has permitted Debs to speak for himself and to show us, through his letters and addresses, that a man may grow to maturity without permitting the cowardices and compromises of life to corrupt him. Debs stands before us crystal-clear. He has no pretensions. He may be wrong, but he knows—with the certainty of an apostle—that he is right. He convinces others by the force of his own conviction, which none can doubt, not even his own persecutors. The jurors who tried Debs probably feared him too much to set him free, but after he had made his address in court, a Department of Justice agent (so Mr. Karsner tells us) said: "You've got to hand it to the old man. He came through clean."

Debs speaks with a burning unequivocation. There is neither a "mayhap" nor a "May I not" in his words. He speaks with the candor of the man who knows—not merely acknowledges verbally—that he is serving a purpose which transcends himself. There are a few persons in each decade to whom the assurance of that idea lends a fire vouchsafed to no parliamentarian. That assurance gives Mr. Snowden a power that Mr. Clynes can never possess. "We are, by chance," says Debs, "the mere instrumentalities in the evolutionary processes in operation through which industrial slavery is to be abolished and economic freedom established." With what refreshing frankness he declares: "I do not consider that I have made any sacrifice whatever; no man has, unless he violates his conscience." "I spoke the truth," Debs simply declares in his address to the jury which found him guilty.

HARRY SALPETER

Denmark's Heroes

The Heroic Legends of Denmark. By Axel Olrik. Translated by Lee M. Hollander. The American-Scandinavian Foundation.

THIS fourth volume of the handsome monographs published by the American-Scandinavian Foundation will be very welcome to the constantly increasing numbers of students of Scandinavian literature who wish to form an acquaintance with the work of brilliant investigators like Axel Olrik. Even to those who read Danish with facility so excellent a translation will be a convenience; to students of Old English literature who read Danish with difficulty or not at all the present book will be a revelation. But the reader should be warned that this is not a collection of legends, but rather a book *about* legends—a searching critical analysis. Almost one-third of the book is devoted to direct discussion of the famous Biarkamal, of which Olrik offers a brilliant reconstruction based upon all the surviving data. Other chapters take up the legends of Hrolf's warriors and of the race of Halfdan. Particularly illuminating is the discussion of the baffling question concerning the site of the royal residence of Leire. In the ancient heroic lays all the Danish kings of the Scylding line have their residence at Leire, but how to identify this locality with certainty amid the scanty remains of ancient sepulchral mounds and barrows still existing is a problem that has received widely varying solutions. Olrik's conclusions are largely negative, but at all events they are eminently sane. After weighing all the evidence he concludes: "We have, at present, no means of deciding with certainty whether popular tradition is right or wrong in maintaining Leire village and its environs to be the site of the old castle." Hereafter we may hope to see fewer confident identifications of the sites traditionally associated with this region.

To the specialist in Northern literature there is at every turn much in this book of interest and importance. But to the far larger number of English readers the most welcome chapters will be those that discuss the obscure problems of Old English epic literature.

Beowulf naturally receives most attention, but there is also incidental treatment of Widsith, of Havelok, and even of Hamlet and Macbeth. As every student of Beowulf knows, there are numerous passages that take for granted or directly refer to the existence of Scandinavian legends and heroes more or less remotely connected with that great poem. To many readers the tangle has seemed inextricable. One can hardly say that this book authoritatively solves every disputed question in this field, but it would be difficult to point to any recent contribution dealing with these problems that is more suggestive and helpful.

The book is full of illuminating comments that cannot be dwelt upon here, but we may venture to cite one or two that are peculiarly typical. One of the most famous passages in Beowulf is the scene in which Queen Wealhtheow, decked with her golden diadem, deals out wine to the warriors and incidentally refers to Hrothgar and his nephew Hrothulf. Olrik remarks: "There can be no doubt then as to the real purpose of the episode: it is intended to form the introduction to a lay about their feud and is borrowed by the poet of Beowulf only as a kind of accessory to his picture." A little later we are told concerning the quarrelsome Unferth that his "name represents no historical character but, on the contrary, embodies an idea. He is personified 'unpeace,' that is, a 'breaker of peace,' an inciter to quarrel. . . . Heroic names of such abstract meaning are never met with in Scandinavian sources though they are familiar enough in Anglo-Saxon lays. Hence his name likewise argues purely Anglo-Saxon origin."

Very suggestive is the further conclusion: "To sum up: we have in the Anglo-Saxon Scylding traditions a theme of heroic poetry derived, in the main, from actual events and reflecting them on the whole in a trustworthy fashion, but limited to a

small number of plots: each of them sufficient to be the contents of a single lay."

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is that in which the author traces the genesis and development of the famous legend of Scyld, arriving at a very different conception from that romantically pictured by Kemble and Müllenhoff. Olrik finds "the best proof of the falsity of the current Romantic conception of Scyld . . . in the fact that one can draw his picture or, rather, read off his life, from the sources in such fashion that it will at every point agree with the general conceptions and ideals of our heroic poetry. To assume any symbolism behind this legend is altogether superfluous."

It is too much to expect that this and a score of other conclusions will win universal assent, but they are in every case based upon a thorough sifting of all the available material and illustrate the penetrating commonsense that the author uniformly displays.

W. E. MEAD.

A Survey of Rural Churches

6,000 Country Churches. By Charles Otis Gill and Gifford Pinchot. The Macmillan Company.

THIS is a book which must be reckoned with. In it the laboratory method is applied to the church problem. Its forerunner, "The Country Church: The Decline of Its Influence and the Remedy," published by the same collaborators in 1913, summarized the results of a survey of church conditions in Windsor County, Vermont, and Tompkins County, New York. So startling were the conclusions reached that there was formed a Commission on Church and Country Life of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. This commission decided to extend investigation to an entire State. Ohio was selected, because it was central and representative, had had churches for a century, contained many strong churches and thousands of rural churches maintained by strong denominations, and because several of its counties already had gathered the necessary data. The plan of procedure was formulated jointly. Mr. Gill, with the coöperation of thousands of helpers, performed or supervised the field work and tabulated the results. Mr. Pinchot composed or finally revised the manuscript in the same lucid, compact, cogent style which lends charm to his earlier books, for example, "The Training of a Forester."

Ohio contains 41,060 square miles, 1,388 townships, and over 6,000 rural churches. The townships average 1,448 inhabitants, and five churches, or one church to every 280 persons. General experience proves that churches having less than 100 members do not prosper. In Ohio more than 4,500, or 66 per cent of the rural churches, have less than 100 members each; 3,600, or 55 per cent, have 75 or less members; while 2,400, or 37 per cent, have 50 or less. Church attendance falls far below membership, averaging about fifty per cent of the members. One obvious defect in the present competitive denominationalism in Ohio is that 27 per cent of the rural towns, and more than 4,400, or about two-thirds of the rural churches, have no resident pastors. Over 5,500 country churches receive only part-time service from their ministers. Large circuits prevent pastoral visitation. Moreover, short pastorates are the rule, and ministers are unable to become intimately acquainted with their parishioners and communities. In the fall of 1917, 48 per cent of Ohio's rural clergymen were entering upon their first year of service in their respective parishes, and 74 per cent their first or second year. Many of the ministers eke out their meagre salaries with non-ministerial work. An appallingly large number of the ministers may be classed as uneducated. Not a few are actually illiterate. That two millions of rural people in Ohio are without public libraries shows the failure of the country pulpit to stimulate the intellectual life. In certain sections the church and the community seem to have broken down. The ambitious

young people are forsaking the country districts, which offer nothing but material and intellectual and social poverty, and are flocking to the cities, thus leaving the mentally inferior to carry on rural community life.

Church efficiency is lowest, in Ohio, in the southern and southeastern parts of the State. In these sections the American stock predominates, the foreign-born population being very small as compared with those counties which contain such cities as Cleveland and Youngstown. Yet in this section the failure is pathetic. After a hundred years of church work there is revealed by the recent survey a noticeable decline in the social, economic, political, moral, and religious welfare of the people. The death-rate from preventable sickness is abnormally high, illegitimate births are excessive, illiteracy exists, venereal diseases abound, mental and moral delinquents are numerous, political life is notoriously corrupt, the per capita of crime runs high, schools are badly managed, and the attendance is very poor.

Yet these same counties are overchurched, having more religious societies and meeting-houses in proportion to population than the other counties of the State. Unhappily, also, a low and unworthy type of religious life is sanctioned by the various denominations, intense emotionalism being the goal aimed at in the scores and hundreds of religious revivals conducted. Not only the Holy Rollers—the only sect that has increased in these eighteen counties during the last fifteen years—but other denominations countenance the promiscuous rolling on the floor by men, women, and children in a primitive delirium of religious ecstasy.

Such conditions as these are a challenge to the church. There is an evident and crying need for a better program, a higher and clearer conception of the function of religion, a better ministry, more generous support, closer and more intelligent relations between pastors and parishes, a re-arrangement of circuits, fewer absentee or non-resident ministers, inter-church federation, community churches, and non-sectarian maintenance. The chief remedies for the application of which the book pleads are federated churches and community churches. In the brief but valuable appendix is presented a resumé of the action of the Committee on Interchurch Coöperation of the Ohio Rural Life Association, embodying the measures which were agreed upon as being demanded by the exigencies of the situation. This is a comprehensive, open-minded, and promising policy.

The true condition of rural Ohio, as revealed by this religious survey, had not been suspected by the various denominational leaders. Each official was occupied with the details of administration of his own sect. But there proved to be an increasing number of people outside of all the sects. Only a comprehensive, standardized, scientific investigation, like that instituted by Messrs. Gill and Pinchot and their army of helpers, could bring to light the actual and alarming facts. Now that the facts are known, and the causes defined, adequate measures can be adopted in Ohio. But, as Mr. Pinchot reminds us: "The task of ascertaining with accuracy the conditions of the country church in other portions of the United States still remains. The remedies are yet to be applied."

Happily, these volumes of Gill and Pinchot necessarily must lead to a re-alignment of the religious forces for a more efficient work throughout the United States. Already surveys are being made in other States. And it is significant and prophetic that the problem of the country church is receiving special attention in some of the theological seminaries. For example, Drew announces a new department, the Department of the Rural Church. Certainly everybody who is at all concerned for the cause of morals and religion, every student of sociology, and every believer in the laboratory method, must feel under deep obligation to the painstaking authors of "6,000 Country Churches" for the statesmanlike survey which they have given to us.

CHARLES E. BEALS

Beauty and the Beast

Tatterdemalion. By John Galsworthy. Charles Scribner's Sons.
My Neighbors. Stories of the Welsh People. By Caradoc Evans. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

THERE is a moving little essay in Mr. Galsworthy's new volume which he calls *A Green Hill Far Away*. It is a breath of relief and thanksgiving at the coming of peace. It was written in 1918, and as he permits an untroubled spirit to blend once more with his beloved English countryside, he says "There is Peace again and the souls of men fresh murdered are not flying into our lungs with every breath we draw." Now it is 1920 and such souls are still flying, for hunger is a more cruel murderer than the sword and the sword itself is far from idle. And one wonders whether this wise and truly lofty soul still believes—for this is the central note of the collection—that the world is full of war and hate because "there are not enough lovers of beauty among men." "It all," he continues, "comes back to that. Not enough who want the green hill far away—who naturally hate disharmony and the greed, ugliness, restlessness, cruelty, which are its parents and children." Alas, in 1914 there was Paris, a city that loved beauty, and there was Vienna, whose many, many poets sought only after the green hills and temples of the soul. The love of beauty lingered in Florence and it had come to a new birth in Munich. And men in all those cities that had loved beauty exchanged it for wrath and saw in war and nationalistic passion another, fiercer, and more burning beauty, and poets of all peoples—Brooke and Seeger and Heymel—are rotting somewhere in the old battlefields. Perhaps they loved beauty too much and truth too little. The passions and the myths have an intense beauty of their own until the time of the dreadful harvest. Thought and resistance are cold and solitary.

In Mr. Galsworthy emotion has always been a little stronger than reflection. His very excess of restraint bears witness to that. But his passion for beauty burns with a very steady flame in the fine story *Spindleberries*, though even here it is tempered in expression by that "gentillesse" of Chaucer which Mr. Galsworthy recalls to us by his motto and has so carefully cultivated within himself. The war came and, because it wrenched him from his absorption in beauty, stirred him to thought. He himself could not identify his vision of beauty with the crimson of carnage, or fling himself wholly back into the ardors of the tribe. Hence in 1917 he wrote *Cafard* with far-reaching implications that touch both *Barbusse* and *Latzko*, and during that year and the next, *Defeat* and *The Bright Side*, and finally, in 1919, *The Dog It Was Who Died*. And these stories—already dismissed or scoffed at by the red-blooded press—illustrate how those years found his other passion for justice more real and useful in a world of horror than his passion for beauty. *Defeat*, the earliest of the stories, makes the fact very clear. For in this account of a German street-walker in London he rises to those ultimate perceptions that seek humanity beyond the tribe, see the same qualities and reactions in all tribes, and thus by dispassionate observation and thought reach the only possible haven of peace—a haven of the mind rather than of the heart.

On the side of art "*Tatterdemalion*" illustrates the Galsworthian qualities which are quite familiar by this time: a mellowness that never degenerates into softness (unless for a moment in *The Grey Angel* in this very collection); a virile tenderness of tone; an unobtrusive ease in the progression of the narrative; a diction which is always adequate, often beautiful, but which will not or cannot exploit all its own full resources of either beauty or strength through some inflexibility of inner modulation. Not that his prose-rhythm is monotonous. Its range is small like that of a beautiful and cultivated voice dwelling on a few notes and unconscious of the worlds of sound beyond. Some of the short stories here are, with these definite qualities

and their defects, among the best of our time. In addition to those named, especially *Spindleberries*, there is *Expectations*, which, with its robust undertone and pleasant edge of irony, shows that Mr. Galsworthy, were he to be but a shadow less conscious of the necessity of "gentillesse," could oftener exhibit the unbreathed-on grain of life.

Caradoc Evans seems to continue in "*My Neighbors*" his indictment of a whole people. It is an extract of ferocity that he flings at his Welsh fellow-countrymen. He sees nothing but lies and lechery, callousness and craft. Mothers still love their young even in Wales. But he describes such love in *A Widow Woman* only to exhibit more glaringly the brutishness of the woman's son. The stories are like blows—dull and yet fierce. By a mingling of scriptural phraseology with literal translations of Welsh speech Mr. Evans carries over into the very texture of his writing the moral contradiction against which, in reality, his cold fury is directed. That contradiction is an old one. Against it are aimed the arrows of all the younger men—of St. John Ervine as well as of Caradoc Evans. It is that quality in the Protestants of the British Isles to which the Continental peoples have long applied the convenient but misleading word hypocrisy. It is, of course, not that at all. The non-conformists of Belfast and Wales have not the intellectual self-direction of the hypocrite. They rarely feign but fiercely believe in a theology and a moral system quite unsuited to them, if indeed it ever suited anyone. That system simply disregards the major passions—the impulse of sex, the will to power—as absolutely wrong and as having no business to exist among Christian people. The obvious result is that nowhere else in the world have those instincts entered so little into the conscious processes of civilization or had so little chance of being humanized. They are like organic things that, instead of being exposed to the freshness of the winds and the warmth of the life-giving sun, have been huddled out of sight to rot. And rot and mildew are also strong forms of life, but disgusting and dangerous. Without their theology and their moral system Mr. Evans's people might still have been sensual and ruthless. They would not have been foul and treacherous.

Mr. Evans's artistic gift is very genuine but hard and narrow. In its present trend one can see little chance for its development. The stories are like rocks—impressive but barren. The preface is written in a more flexible vein and a more ironic mood. In it the language of the English Bible, from which Mr. Evans draws, is transmuted for the uses of his artistic intention. In the stories themselves it is employed merely as a weapon. But his work has fierce honesty, concentration, power. It is sanative and, within its definite limits, completely achieved.

Books in Brief

NO educated, honest, able-bodied man can read the war essays of Randolph Bourne which Mr. James Oppenheim has collected under the title "*Untimely Papers*" (Huebsch) without some degree of admiration for their dead author and some sort of shame for himself. Let us assume that *you* are the educated, honest, able-bodied man. Now you may dislike the fierce, uncompromising little class of intellectualistic internationalists for whom Randolph Bourne spoke, a class so un-Russian in Russia, so un-German in Germany, so un-French in France, so un-English in England, so un-American in America, a class unlovely everywhere to lovers of large loose society. You may not care for abstract politics, or the jargon of functions, values, and isms. You may have too little respect for philosophy as a popular force to believe it was the *New Republic* and Professor John Dewey that swung this country to war in the spring of 1917. You may be resentful of metaphysical systems offered to America as a cure for the "thinnesses" of her civilization and the "arid qualities" of her life; you may be aware of a vast

and picturesque extra-political energy in the American mind which you think no theorist can ever hope to discover. With your able body you may have derived at camp certain pleasures from drill and fatigue that Randolph Bourne was not equipped to share and, you may say, discounted too impatiently. You may remember that you lost your head in 1917, and you are intellectually ashamed; but you take comfort from the assurance that practically every one else did also. Randolph Bourne did not lose his head. He kept detached, he kept alert, he kept bitter when we were a herd, when we seemed drugged, when we were all sweet complacency. What we say now without being either brave or original he said then, not, perhaps, with the maturity of a Bertrand Russell or a Romain Rolland, but at least with fine courage and imagination. It may turn out that the cleanest picture of ourselves when we were not ourselves is here in these two hundred and thirty pages.

EVERY one knows Clarence Darrow as a fighting labor lawyer, a double-handed berserker of the bar. Only his friends know that at heart he is an elegiac poet. Yet any one who wishes may find this out by reading his exquisite half-novel, half-autobiography, "Farmington" (Huebsch), first published sixteen years ago and now issued in a third edition. It has unstinting veracity; it has mellow moods and ivory texture. The book rises naturally from the spirit, dear to the American tradition, of tender affection for some native village. Thousands of men daily dream thus of childhood, but the pictures which come before them are dimmed by short memory or distorted by sentimentalism or falsified by some subsequent prejudice. Mr. Darrow's *Farmington*, it is true, lies continually in a golden haze, melts and flows, increases and then diminishes like a living legend. The colors, however, have grown truer not fainter, and the forms of his remembered existence more substantial if less sharp-edged. Richly and warmly as he visualizes that perished universe, he has not brought in illusions to multiply his pleasure in it. What gave him pain as a boy he remembers as pain and will not make out to have been a joke. What gave him delight he remembers as delight, not as an offense to be expiated by an older conscience. Such dreams do not lie. They are the foundations on which truth mounts above facts. To "Farmington" they impart a firmness which enables an honest reader to move confidently among its lovely pictures without the sense that a breath may shatter them. The ringing laughter of Mark Twain's Hannibal never sounds through Mr. Darrow's softer pages: herein lies a limitation of "Farmington," its lack of a large masculine vitality. But that, of course, is just the quality which we have no right to ask for in an exquisite elegiac poet.

PAINFULLY conscious of American realities, one approaches with distrust a book on American ideals. For too many months we have listened to official and unofficial spokesmen whose reluctance or inability to define American ideals has been equalled only by their fervently expressed willingness to die for them. But discussion of ideals can be made tolerable to the disillusioned by such intelligent effort at definition and sincere facing of facts as mark most of the brief essays collected under the title of "Ideals of America" (McClurg). Leaders of thought in the fields of law, politics, labor, science, literature, music, education, "society," religion, business, and philosophy prepared these "analyses of the guiding motives of contemporary American life" at the request of the City Club of Chicago, in the hope that out of the ideals of important groups in the community might be evolved a collective ideal. Most of the papers were written on the eve of our entry into the war, when "the friendly objectivity of the scientific observer was still an attainable attitude in America." This almost forgotten attitude permitted Professor Bramhall (in the course of an admirable statement of political ideals) to consider shifting representation from a geographical basis to one of calling, or community of thought and purpose. As he does not attach a soviet label to

this conception, the rash speculation may escape official notice. When friendly objectivity like this is once more attainable, guiding motives of the high character expressed in this book may really have a chance to guide.

SOPHOCLES well knew that thin-skinned and weak-limbed *Mar* depends for his safety upon the use of his thinking mechanism; but today the peoples need still to be taught this lesson from the beginning. The purpose of Dr. Saleeby in "The Whole Armour of Man" (Lippincott) is to show through a thousand familiar details the dangers to which man is exposed and the methods by which the application of reliable knowledge—that is to say, "science"—protects us. Most of the addresses and essays collected in this book deal with the dangers to human health, the discovery of causes and remedies of diseases, the organization of research and the organization of health protection, the systematic prevention of disease, and the measurement of progress made in reducing death rates, and so on. The steps taken in the evolution of Tommy's "tin hat" are interestingly told at first hand, since Dr. Saleeby was responsible at many points in urging upon the authorities the application of scientific methods to the solution of specific war problems. More suggestive of further research along important lines are such chapters as Campaigns of Peace to Come, The Solution of the Wheat Problem, The Nemesis of Speculation, and Mental Tempo. In the last there is a brief discussion of certain aspects of individual and race variation, which show themselves in the games and in the oratory of peoples: what is fast for some is slow for others; and this has serious relations to problems of education, industrial management, public speaking, and the rate at which motion films are reeled off.

WITH the collapse of the Turkish Empire and the British conquest of Palestine the question of the future disposition of the Holy Land has entered the field of immediate practical politics. It is natural that this question should be particularly warmly debated in England, where the public, both for political and sentimental reasons, has clothed the narrow strip on the Mediterranean with an importance which is entirely out of proportion to its small geographical extension or to the paucity of its natural resources. Mr. Herbert Sidebotham's "England and Palestine" (Constable), written before the Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917, represents an eloquent plea for a Jewish Commonwealth under the sovereignty of Great Britain. Mr. Sidebotham, who is a member of the British Palestine Society and editor of its weekly paper *Palestine*, writes avowedly from the English point of view; he has striven, in his own words, to detach himself, as far as personal friendships would let him, from the prepossession of a Jewish view. He contends that the protection of Egypt, which is the most vulnerable part of the British Empire, depends essentially on a strong Jewish Palestine under English overlordship. What Afghanistan is to India, Palestine must be to Egypt. The author is fully aware of the French claims in the Near East and he is willing to see them realized in the northern part of Syria. As far as Palestine is concerned, he is willing to accept, if necessary, the United States as a mandatory, though England seems to him to be the most natural sponsor of a resuscitated Jewish commonwealth.

THE question of the future of Palestine is discussed also by Norman Bentwich in his "Palestine of the Jews, Past, Present, and Future" (Constable). Mr. Bentwich, who was a member of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force that invaded Palestine, and who at present occupies the post of Chief Judicial Officer in Palestine, writes, like Mr. Sidebotham, from the English point of view. But at the same time he lays particular stress on the immense implications of the new developments in the Holy Land for the national and cultural aspirations of the Jewish people. His book presents a careful survey of the past of Palestine

during the long ages of the Jewish dispersion and gives a vivid and eloquent account of the Palestine of today, with its remarkable net of Jewish settlements marked by a new characteristic Jewish life. Mr. Bentwich reviews the history of the Zionist movement in which the age-long national yearnings of the Jews have first found their concrete embodiment, and he points out the possibilities for the future. The volume is concluded by a number of charmingly intimate sketches portraying the various stages in the British advance on Palestine.

NOW and then in these days when all things change, it is restful to read a book with the flavor of the eighties. It is good to come upon a writer who is undisturbed. Those who find themselves in the mood for a pleasing review of traditional attitudes towards law and its part in human affairs will enjoy a quiet evening with Judge Simeon Baldwin's "The Young Man and the Law" (Macmillan). They will meet with no mention of economics, no quotations from Roscoe Pound, and only two from Justice Holmes. They will learn that all's right or nearly right with legal procedure, that the quality and public influence of the bar are as good as ever, that though there are "different sects in theology, different schools in medicine," there is "absolute unity in law." "They who practice it are brothers, standing on equal ground. They constitute a body of believers in the same thing." As there are no disputes among lawyers, there is none in Judge Baldwin's book. It is always gentle. Good anecdotes and ripe quotations take us back to quieter centuries, before "great fortunes, many of them coming as a reward of scientific discoveries, have given new means of social distinction." The jurisconsults and the chancellors give us their wisdom, and the author gives us his. He finds the attractions of the legal profession many and the objections to it few. The law "is the profession of those who contend for the rights of others. Altruism and personal sacrifice are its foundations." The dominant note of the book is its idealism. Judge Baldwin has the fortunate faculty of seeing things at their best.

WHO now reads Ned Buntline? Yet his name has rung favorably, even rapturously, in a million ears and several millions. The handsome edition of the "Life and Adventures of 'Ned Buntline'" (Cadmus Book Shop), by Fred E. Pond, otherwise Will Wildwood, sets forth a career which, on its plane, was Rooseveltian, Gargantuan, Tartarinian. E. Z. C. Judson ran briskly away from his home in Philadelphia at the age of eleven (this in 1834); became a sailor and then a midshipman; at fifteen fought a duel with seven midshipmen (he challenged thirteen) who had declined to mess with him as a man formerly before the mast; served with distinction in the Seminole War at seventeen; became a tremendous hunter in the Everglades; hurried off to the Rockies in the employ of the Northwest Fur Company; turned back to the Southwest, where he married, founded *Ned Buntline's Own*, fought more duels, and killed his man; became a mainstay of the *Knickerbocker Magazine* in its best years and so violent a begetter of sensational romances that he once wrote a book of 610 pages in sixty-two hours; turned into a furious patriot with the Know Nothings and on account of his share in the Astor Place riot was sent to cool for a year in the penitentiary; took himself for long periods to the Adirondacks, which he helped make classic ground for sportsmen; served of course in the Mexican and Civil Wars; found time to be royally amorous in the intervals of his ruder toils; brought Buffalo Bill on the stage in a play which Buntline wrote one flushed Wednesday afternoon, rehearsed over the weekend, and produced the following Monday; and came to the end of his career in 1886 only after he had written more than two hundred volumes of tumultuous blood-and-thunder. His books have not survived and doubtless nothing can revive them. The movies have driven them to the wall. But in his day Ned Buntline was so mighty that he should have now and then the need of some melodious tear.

Notes and News

In no respect did the war hurt the book world worse than in the restraint it laid upon those inexpensive series of books which used to make it possible to collect a good library for very little. Not only have the prices of such books been doubled or trebled, but many of the series have been practically discontinued. Few volumes have been added to the Everyman Library, though the price is now almost three times what it was in 1914; the Modern Library of Boni and Liveright has added more titles and only about fifty per cent to its original price, but it too has suffered and has not expanded as rapidly as its numerous admirers would like; the excellent Home University Library published by the Holts has added but one title in two years. With the renewed activities of the publishing trade, however, various new series are announced which, though at higher prices than formerly, promise to go a good way toward repairing the damage done.

The Four Seas Company has issued the first ten numbers of its International Pocket Library, to contain important recent or contemporary works, and to be sold, in paper, at the remarkably low price of twenty-five cents. The volumes are of course very slender: two tales by Kipling in one, two by Thomas Hardy, three by Poe, three by John Trevena, five by as many Russian writers, six by Blasco Ibáñez, seven by Maupassant, Oscar Wilde's "Importance of Being Earnest," Tagore's "Gitanjali," and E. A. Housman's "Shropshire Lad"; but there are interesting prefaces by Joseph Conrad, Wilson Follett, Conrad Aiken, W. S. Braithwaite, W. B. Yeats, and others. If the Four Seas Company can make these little volumes grow where trivial and tawdry magazines have grown before, the Company will have deserved well of its country.

Harcourt, Brace and Howe announce three important series: The European Library, to be edited by J. E. Spingarn, and to contain the most interesting current books from the Continental languages; The Farmers' Bookshelf, edited by Kenyon L. Butterfield and devoted to the general problems of rural life; The Common Things Series, edited by J. Arthur Thomson, and intended to furnish simple and sound knowledge regarding the facts of daily life. The unusual competence of the editors will encourage readers to expect much of the series.

Thomas Seltzer has planned a series of Plays for a People's Theater, to be edited by Douglas Goldring, in which three titles are announced for the spring: Mr. Goldring's own "Fight for Freedom," D. H. Lawrence's "Touch and Go," and Hamilton Fyfe's "The Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory." The same firm announces also a New Library of Social Science, edited by Ramsay MacDonald, who will issue as the first title his own "Parliament and Revolution" and as the second, Bruce Glasier's "Meaning of Socialism."

Series devoted to particular topics multiply. The Holts have a Psychic Series, of which volumes will shortly appear by Sir William Crookes, Gerald Balfour, L. M. Bazett, Mrs. De Koven, and Henry Holt. The Macmillan Company has a new Red Cross series, books concerning the various activities of the American Red Cross during the war. H. L. Mencken has a jolly series all to himself, called The Free Lance Books (Knopf), with E. W. Howe, Pio Baroja, Nietzsche, and Edwin Muir as his "talent" to date.

Shakespeare continues in the news. At Longner Hall, in Shrewsbury, there has been found a volume of Shakespeariana that should send country gentlemen scurrying again through their lumber-rooms. The volume contains a copy of the third edition (1600) of the "Lucrece," with a hitherto unknown con-

tinuation of the poem, in the same meter, by "T. M.," apparently Thomas Middleton. "The Ghost of Lucrece," as the continuation is called, was published in 1600. There is a 1599 edition of "Venus and Adonis," which appears to be a unique copy of an unregistered edition. There are also highly interesting copies of the "Passionate Pilgrim and Sonnets" (1599) and "Emaricdulfe," a collection of sonnets published in 1595 by some unidentified author. Only one other copy of "Emaricdulfe" is known to be in existence.

An interesting footnote to the history of criticism in America might be made of the fact that the New York *Times* first gave J. M. Keynes's "Economic Consequences of the Peace" to Frank A. Vanderlip for review, but, discontented with his judgment, sought another reviewer of less subversive opinions in Professor Hazen, who gave the *Times* more nearly what it wanted.

The person by a clerical slip referred to as Arnold Bennett in Mr. Woodbridge's review in *The Nation* for April 10 was, of course, the Mr. Bennet who is the father of the marrying maidens of "Pride and Prejudice."

Drama

Medea

NO one should fail to see the "Medea" at the Garrick Theatre. The play reaches you with unexpected intensity and force. You forget that it is venerable. The passion of it pounds like the sea on rocks. Gone are the two thousand three hundred and fifty-one years since the drama's first performance at Athens. You find yourself face to face with Euripides, the earliest master of the problem play, the discoverer of the great psychological dilemmas of mankind, the father of a mighty progeny. That being so, one's little quarrels with Mr. Maurice Browne's production do not greatly matter. What one missed was spaciousness and simplicity of effect. The lighting devices are too clever. Yet at the crucial moment they fail and the sun-chariot is paltry. It was inevitable, of course, that the version of Gilbert Murray should be used, and hence the choruses—admirably chanted and spoken—often sweep away the Euripidean passion and philosophy and transport one to Swinburne's Forsaken Garden by the brink of his mother, the sea. But Miss Ellen Van Volkenburg acts with as compact and unswerving an inner conviction as if she were indeed the first prophetic proclaimer of the wrongs of her sex.

For such Medea is. When she has said that she would rather thrice maintain herself in an embattled field than bear once the pangs of childbirth she has opened the great feminist case and destroyed the legend of the sheltered woman. She also states with a hard and final clearness the injustice of woman's social dependence on her husband and stamps divorce as useless so long as its practice involves a reproach. Under the pressure of wrongs that are indeed intolerable she lends a voice to the unhappy race of woman. With her own hands she once slew her brother for Jason's sake; for him she gave up home and friends and memories; she bore him two men children. And now he would wed the young daughter of Creon—perhaps from ambition, perhaps from desire—and make Medea, to use the naked bitterness of her own words, "a thing mocked at." Why should she not be implacable? Even if today we must dismiss the murder of her children from the world of fact, we are still shaken by her passion, which even at its extreme is scarcely more cruel than her wrongs.

No wonder that Jason, accomplished sophist though he be, shrinks and withers beneath her scorn. Nor is it surprising that from a contemporary American performance he emerges as morally loathsome. We may deprecate the ferocity of Medea's deeds; we approve that of her passion. But Euripides, whom

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none can accuse of a lack of justice to her, has not left Jason wholly without extenuation or defense. He lets the man make three points. It was love, it was an elemental infatuation, that caused Medea to slay Absyrtus and Pelias for his sake. For the deeds done under the sting of so selfish a passion Medea deserves no reward. His guilt lay, of course, in accepting the benefit of her crimes. His second point is that no Grecian, that is, no civilized woman, would have been capable of them and that hence the Colchian murderess and sorceress—whatever her wrongs—is but continuing her ghastly career. His third point is that Medea exaggerates those wrongs monstrously because, like all women, she identifies the life of sex with life's totality. If their marriage is blest they want for nothing else; if it is unblest they become furies and lose all sense of human values.

Euripides dwells on the barbaric character of the Colchian princess. Yet through the words of Jason he generalizes from her and, ardent feminist though he is, shows his knowledge of woman's fatal nearness to the elemental and primitive. Jason balances many things in his mind; Medea does not. In their last terrible interview he reflects and remembers and regrets. She scorns to answer and appeals to Zeus. Over the very bodies of her murdered boys no doubt afflicts her. Her revenge is for her as absolute in quality as was her wrong. She sees nothing above or beyond her sense of outrage and promptly identifies it with the outraged justice of God. Therefore the score is rightly evened and a final satisfaction is hers: "I love my pains so that thou laugh no more!"

One wonders whether Euripides saw in his imagination the latter years of this tragic pair. Medea went to the land of Eretheus. There she ordained festivals and rites to make due atonement for the guilt of having slain her children. Since she believed such atonement possible, nothing ever shook her conviction that she was the purely tragic victim of a wicked man on whom she had avenged not her wrongs only but those of womankind. She cultivated an air of grandeur and of noble melancholy. She became a privileged character at the court of Ægeus and nursed a tragic and self-righteous pride. Jason had no such inner comforts. He was quite broken. But an inner break brings thought and wandering meditation. The sophist had already begun to pass from the mere arts of persuasion to deeper reasoning concerning the true character of men and women and of their harsh contentions. In the dust of a roadside he became, perhaps, more acceptable to the understanding gods than Medea at the court of a king.

Is it to consider too curiously to consider so? Assuredly there are hints in the text of the play that Euripides was not unaware of what it must have been to be married to Medea. She had made terrific sacrifices and she was fiercely faithful. But past sacrifices do not fill today with pleasantness or make it easier to live. Medea, like many women, was acutely conscious of them. They made her stern, superior, and exacting. Fidelity, given and received as a matter of course, is beautiful. But it is a tender and a delicate thing. Emphasized and psychically exploited it may become first a burden and then a nuisance. Imagine, to descend to the plain bread of life, a woman who plays noble variations on this theme: You must not cross me because I once slew men for your sake, and your slightest thought must be mine because mine is yours! Jason dares not tell her the truth. But the reasons he pleads for his new marriage are hollow and specious. His insincerity is evident. What he wanted was brightness and naïveness and a wife who did not bring a moral menace and austere compulsions to his bed and board. Only when Medea is in her unapproachable chariot does he tell her that real opinion of her character and her past which sent him wooing to King Creon's house. Is that ignoble as an interpretation? Then so is life ignoble. It shows the depths within depths of the great Attic poet. It points the way, perhaps, to another tragedy on the immortal legend, to "A Modern Medea."

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Russian Facts

Fighting Without a War: An Account of Military Intervention in North Russia

By Ralph Albertson. Illustrated from photographs. \$1.50 net.

An account of the military fiasco at Archangel, by a Y. M. C. A. secretary who served with American and later with British troops throughout the expedition. The book describes with great vividness, not merely the battles, the trials, and the hardships of the expedition, but the reaction of the American troops to their environment, the alleged "mutinies," the spirit of the Russian peasantry, and the friction and misunderstanding in the Allied command.

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By Cecil L'Estrange Malone, M.P. Paper, \$1.00.

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Music

Nationalism in Music

French Music of Today. By G. Jean-Aubry. Translated by Edwin Evans. London: Kegan Paul.

IT was Claude Debussy who first asked why French musicians should base their musical foundation on the German classics instead of on their own, and why they should try to preserve the traditions of Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner instead of those of Rameau, Couperin, and Dacquin. It is very much this same point of view that M. Jean-Aubry has taken in his book, "French Music of Today," in which he endeavors to show how Debussy and certain of his contemporaries have "linked the spirit of the France of two hundred years ago with that of the France of today." It is indeed a book calculated to cause a great deal of discussion, for even its two prefaces, written respectively by its translator, Edwin Evans, and by Gabriel Faure, director of the Paris Conservatoire, not only contradict each other, but disagree strongly at times with the author. M. Jean-Aubry is an ardent nationalist in the most liberal sense, being, as his translator tells us, "an enthusiastic advocate, not only of contemporary French composers, but those of English, Spanish, and Italian composers whose works place them in the vanguard of present day music." Believing firmly that art is not universal, but that "an aggregate of works" always "bears the stamp of its period and its nationality," he goes on to say that "the features of our [French] music are those of our mind and our temperament." These features he defines as clarity, irony, grace, elegance, charm, "the fear of emphasis in expression, the avoidance of all that is redundant, knowledge without the desire to display it, a horror of pedantry, a taste for pleasantness and wit"; and then he proceeds to show how these same features were clearly revealed in the works of Rameau and the clavecinists of the seventeenth century, how they were lost for over two centuries through the infiltration of Italian and German music, and finally how they have effloresced again in the music of Debussy, Dukas, Ravel, Roussel, Severac, Satie, Schmitt, and others.

Out of this list he leaves César Franck, whom he professes to reverence, but whom he accuses of being Teutonic in spirit because of his mysticism, his gravity, and his "taste in formal

development." To this Mr. Evans takes exception: "M. Jean-Aubry is apt sometimes to forget in his championship of the exquisite . . . that France is Gothic as well as Romance, Frankish as well as Roman. It is not without significance that César Franck was an immigrant from the North, and that the outward appearance of Debussy was typically Southern."

But M. Jean-Aubry will perhaps rouse the most ire by what he says of German music. Beginning by quoting Romain Rolland's remark in 1905 that "French art is silently engaged in taking the place of German art," he goes still further by saying that "the music of Europe would not be put back a single step if one were to suppress the output of Strauss and Mahler. . . . Richard Strauss, in spite of all his gifts, or perhaps even because of them, is only the musician of the German decadence, the composer of false power, resting solely upon the strength of the orchestra and upon violent sensation. He represents in reality the best that Germany of today can give us. He might be her symbol."

"But," cries M. Faure in alarm, "shall we have to forget all that French music owes to the contact of the great German classics?" To this M. Jean-Aubry replies: "The grandeur of German music from Bach to Wagner is a universal truth. It is unworthy of the present to attempt an attack upon the past. But to-day we are concerned with the present. . . . That alone affects us and of that we must be convinced."

Whether we need to be convinced of this fact or not, the important thing is that M. Jean-Aubry has given us the point of view of the modern French composer toward his art, especially as this art has been so freely imitated without being really understood. The value of this contribution alone more than offsets any charge of propagandism that the book may bring forth, a charge that is partially refuted by the very fact that much of its contents was written long before the war.

HENRIETTA STRAUS

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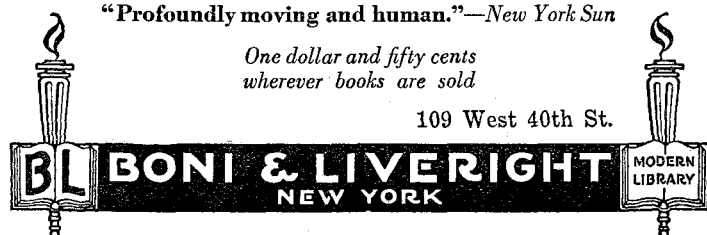
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International Relations Section

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Soviets in Italy

THE agitation in the Italian Socialist movement leading up to the formation of the "Bombacci plan," printed in another column of this issue, is described in an article from its Italian correspondent in the *Workers' Dreadnought* (London) for February 27.

Since the Congress of Bologna last October, the Italian Socialist party has been squarely committed to the Soviet régime as the instrument of proletarian administration. The Maximalist faction, which dominated this congress, agreed upon the participation of the party in the elections for the bourgeois Parliament only on condition that the party should at the same time organize the system of Soviets, which was to realize the revolution and take the place of Parliament. After the elections, the chief function of the party became the organization of this Soviet system. The project was formally initiated at a National Council of Regional delegates, held at Florence this month.

But, previous to this, the question of Soviets had become one of concrete importance. This was due largely to the so-called "Turin movement," led by Antonio Gramsci, one of the editors of the Turin edition of *Avanti* and editor of *L'Ordine Nuovo*, the organ of his ideas. Gramsci, one of the leaders of the young "intellectuals" of the party, insisted on immediate action. He was vexed by the delay which was being caused by the hesitancy of the Socialist Confederation of Labor to agree on a Soviet system which might rob it of its importance. He determined to force the hand alike of the Confederation and of the party.

His strength among the workers lies chiefly in the metal trades. And here he determined to initiate the serious discussion of Soviets, by initiating serious Soviets in fact. During the autumn, and especially during the months of November and December, Soviets were organized in all the chief factories of the metal industry, with the coöperation of the union. Here was a *fait accompli*. The party complained that the Soviets Gramsci had formed did not fulfil the function of true Soviets, in that they did not provide for the assumption of political power. In fact, the party, which feels the drag of many reformists within its ranks, and among its officials, was embarrassed by the formation of Soviets outside its jurisdiction. It said that Soviets should not have been formed until the matter had been thoroughly discussed by the workers. But it hastened to initiate the discussion.

The party . . . at the Florence Convention, faced the matter squarely. On a motion of Leone, it was decided to initiate a two-months discussion in all the local branches, and that the political secretary of the party should prepare a project of Soviet organization as a basis for this discussion. After the two-months discussion, the delegates to the council, bearing specific mandates from their locals, are to meet again and prepare to effectuate the Soviet organization to be agreed upon ultimately.

The Bombacci plan is closely modelled on the Russian system. It contemplates a network of Soviets—above and beyond the present factory councils—which shall prepare themselves to be the organs of revolutionary defense and administration when the revolution comes. But its particular preoccupation is to pre-

serve the authority of the party, as advance guard of the revolution, working within the Soviet system. . . .

The discussion of the project has already begun. Two lines of criticism are noticeable; that of the anti-parliamentary "abstentionist" faction, led by Bordiga, who asserts that the project gives insufficient power to the party, which must be all-powerful in the revolutionary period; and that of the "Turin movement," led by Gramsci, who says that it gives insufficient place to the pre-revolutionary function of the Soviets, in edging the capitalists out of the factory through industrial action. One may be permitted to predict, however, that the Bombacci plan will be carried by a good majority.

The Bombacci Plan

THE following provisional plan, drawn up by Signor N. Bombacci for the establishment of a Soviet system within the present industrial and political system in Italy, was printed in *Avanti* (Milan) for January 28.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. The Soviets (councils of workingmen, artisans, and peasants) must form the basis of the Socialist state of workingmen, the sole organs of power and of supreme direction for the organization of production and of communist distribution as well as for the regulation of all economic, social, and political relations, both internal and external.

2. The formation and arrangement of the Soviets must necessarily be made effective, during the revolutionary period (which is the present state of Italy) preceding the actual beginning of the social revolution, by transferring all power into the hands of the Soviets for the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is not only to accomplish with greater success this particular historic duty that the institution of Soviets must first have complete organization and thorough preparation, but because only a national body broader than the local Soviets can have control during the period before the final revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois régime and its false democratic illusion—parliamentarism.

3. The conditions of the present period, characterized by a want of liberty of action, of speech, and even of thought for the workingman, as well as the constant pressure and defamation to which the laboring classes are subjected by the bourgeoisie, make it absolutely necessary for the highest interests of these classes to protect and guarantee, by means of a proletarian vanguard, the Soviets of the workingman against any pressure and against any insidious schemes, direct or indirect, of the bourgeoisie. These guarantees must express themselves in the control and close vigilance on the part of the proletarian vanguard (the Socialist party, organizations of resistance and of socialist coöperation) of the Soviet. From this the necessity arises on the one hand for the introduction of an adequate representation in the local and central Soviets and on the other for the formation of administrative regulations so that the bourgeoisie cannot undermine the free expression of the will of the laboring classes. . . .

THE FORMATION OF THE SOVIET ORGANS

I. PROVISIONAL CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Initiated by the Italian Socialist party there shall be formed with its headquarters at Rome a provisional Central Executive Committee composed of ten members, four from the Italian Socialist party, three from the General Confederation of Labor, two from the Socialist Union, and one from the Coöperative League.

The political secretary of this Committee must be one of the representatives of the Italian Socialist party.

II. DUTIES OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The duty of the provisional Central Executive Committee shall be to proceed to organize Soviets throughout the whole of Italy on the basis of the present plan, and its functions shall continue until the completion of the work and the convocation of the National Congress of Soviets of all Italy, which Congress shall be convoked by this same Committee and shall maintain its relations with the Committee during the entire period of organization.

The provisional Central Executive Committee shall have complete control during this period and to it shall belong the right of direction and control of the management of all the Soviet organizations. Besides directing the work of organizing the Soviets during this initial period, it shall have the right to dissolve those formed irregularly or in contradiction to the accepted standards of the Soviets and to bring about new elections.

III. PROVISIONAL EXECUTIVE SUB-COMMITTEES

From the provisional Central Executive Committee there shall be formed regional, provincial, district, and local provisional executive committees whose duties shall be to form Soviets in each of the regions, provinces, districts, and localities under the direction of and on the basis of the instructions sent to them by the Central Executive Committee at Rome; which provisional committees shall continue to function until they are replaced by the deputies from the Central Committee for the locality (district), province, and region. The provisional executive committees shall be composed in greater part of representatives of the Italian Socialist party, of members of the Chamber of Confederate Labor, and of the organizations of resistance, as well as of Socialist coöperators.

IV. TERRITORIAL SUBDIVISIONS

For the formation of the Soviets, Italy shall be divided into regions having a specific economic character whether rural, commercial, or industrial. In conformity with this specific character the subdivisions into provinces and districts shall be made, irrespective of whether those subdivisions conform to the present divisions of the bourgeois state. For the subdivision of the province into districts, each city or industrial center with its surrounding rural communes which depend upon such centers or cities shall form the Soviet district. For the formation of the Soviets in the large public utilities (railroads and transport, post, telegraph, telephones, etc.) and for their representation in the General Soviet, their particular subdivision must conform to those indicated above.

V. GENERAL DISTRICT SOVIETS

Soviets of workingmen shall be formed in every city as well as in every industrial center of the region.

In every commune an elementary Soviet shall be formed whose councils shall form a district Soviet council of peasants, such council of peasants corresponding to the Soviet of workingmen for the cities or for the industry which forms the center of the economic district.

The workingmen's Soviets of the principal place in a district together with those of the peasants and of the employees in public works shall form the General District Soviet. These shall form the basis of all Soviet organizations.

VI. SOVIETS OF WORKINGMEN

The workingmen's Soviets shall be composed of delegates elected by the workingmen and employees of factories and works as well as by all manual and brain workers. Any one over eighteen years of age who does not employ labor for his own profit may be a voter or a delegate. The peasants, however, must belong to the Socialist Soviet or to a revolutionary organization of resistance or a coöperative Socialist organization.

Elections will be held in factories employing over 200 persons, and at the rate of one delegate to 200 voters or a fraction of that number. Factories of minor importance will combine in

conformity with instructions from the Executive Committee to conduct elections. On account of the difficulty of holding meetings in factories where large numbers are employed, the elections shall be held by groups of laborers who shall elect deputies. These in turn shall designate the delegates to the Soviet. When councils within the factory have already been formed composed of deputies elected by a single body, the appointment of the representative to the Soviet may be made by the deputies themselves, who will inform the people of the delegates elected and will serve to keep them in touch with the working people. The same procedure holds for the people working in their own homes and not concentrated in one place. In the Soviet elected in this way the aggregate shall be composed of representatives of the Italian Socialist party, of revolutionary organizations of defense, and of coöperatives, and of experts on specified questions under dispute not to exceed 20 per cent, representatives having been appointed by these same organizations in agreement with the provisional Central Executive Committee.

The Soviets of workers in public utilities (transport, post, and telegraph, teachers and public administrators) shall be formed in the same way as those of workingmen.

VII. SOVIETS OF PEASANTS

The elementary Soviets of peasants shall be elected in every commune by farmers and small proprietors who do not employ labor for their own profit. The minimum age for voting and for eligibility is eighteen years. One delegate is to be chosen for each fifty voters or fraction of that number. Only one-fourth of the small Soviet of the commune shall be sent as delegates to the District Soviet, thus equalizing the representation of peasants with the other categories in the General District Soviet. Those elected must belong to a political or economic organization of their class. An adequate representation of revolutionary class organizations and also of experts on questions under discussion may be added by the provisional Central Executive Committee to the small Soviets of communes as well as to the District Peasant Soviet in numbers not exceeding 20 per cent.

VIII. SECTIONS OF THE SOVIET

All the Soviets in this category shall form sections of the General and District Soviet; sections to be kept if possible in the same proportion in the election of the executive committees as in that of the Provincial, Regional, and National Soviets.

IX. MEETINGS

The workingmen's Soviets in the cities shall meet not less than once a week, also the small peasant Soviets and those of the workingmen in public utilities. The General District Soviet shall meet not less than once a week. At least once a month it shall meet in the chief place of the province. The Conference of Soviets is composed of delegates from the Soviets.

Not less than once in three months the Regional Conference of Soviets shall meet in the chief places of the region and in another place designated by the executive committee. This Regional Conference is composed of delegates from the nearest Provincial Conference.

Not less than once in six months there shall meet at a place designated by the Central Executive Committee, the National Congress of Soviets composed of delegates from the District Soviets. . . .

X. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES.

The executive committees for the Provincial and Regional Conferences and for the National Congress shall be elected from the District Soviets. All the executive committees continue to function during the period included between the two National Congresses. The number composing them and the functions of the executive committees shall be regulated by laws made by the provisional Central Executive Committee.

The provisional Central Executive Committee, the organ of general direction for the organization of the Soviet, as well as

the regional, provincial, and district executive committees shall have the task of elaborating the labor programs of their respective assemblies, of providing in every way for the development and coordination of the individual sections of the Soviets, as well as developing any activities with which they may be charged by their respective assemblies.

XI. CONVOCAATION OF MEETINGS.

The Soviet, the Conferences, and the Congress shall be convoked by the same executive committees in general and in special sessions. This convocation must be made on the demand of one-fourth of those composing the assembly whose convocation is demanded by its respective executive committee with the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

XII. ELECTION AND RECALL OF DELEGATES

The elections in the Soviets of workingmen shall take place every six months. A delegate may at any time be deprived of his power by failing to obtain a majority vote in the assembly of his electors and of the deputies from the factory councils called together for the purpose and to which the delegate in question will be invited for explanation. Also, any member of an executive committee must resign in whom a want of confidence is expressed by his own elective assembly.

All elections, whether in the Soviets, in the Conferences, the Congress, or in the Executive Committee shall be made in proportion to the different categories of labor (workingmen, peasants, employees, etc.).

A detailed and definite Constitution of the Soviet organizations shall be elaborated on a basis of the present plan of the provisional Central Executive Committee and presented to the Soviets to be approved by the National Congress after prior discussion.

The Councils Movement in North Italy

THE following article on the so-called "councils of exploitation" or factory councils in north Italy, and the attitude of the trade unions to them, is taken from *L'Information Ouvrière et Sociale* (Paris) of February 1, which reprinted it from *Resto del Carlino*.

Modifications in the relationship between employers and workingmen in Italy have come about very slowly. Whereas the great majority of the employers had come to admit the right of the workers, in times of stress, to call upon their organizations to aid and direct them; and, in some of the better organized regions, collective contracts of labor had been made granting the signatory organizations the right to supervise their application, nevertheless the employers objected to granting their workers the right to discuss, in permanent commissions, the organization of the factories, methods of direction, discipline, and production itself. When, as a result of the industrial mobilization of war industries, the labor organizations asked the Government to make the establishment of "internal committees" in these factories obligatory, they encountered the opposition of the employers, who insisted that the obligation should be reduced to a simple recommendation.

There were employers who sought to appease their employees by offering the sop of profit-sharing, a *modus vivendi* unanimously condemned by the labor unions, which have hitherto shown little more enthusiasm for the participation of the workers in industrial administration. Supervision of industrial management, although such a system differs from ordinary capitalism in that it limits and breaks in on the employer's freedom of action and power, has not been considered important by the working class. It has felt that such supervision offers the employer too many opportunities to guarantee his own advantages and privileges. The institution of factory councils which began in the largest factories of Turin, and which doubtless will spread

to other industrial centers, poses the problem of the relations between employers and employees in its "Maximalist" terms.

What is a factory council? It is an organism which amplifies and perfects the internal committee. The workers of each department elect a representative. The departments of the administrative and technical personnel also elect their representatives. The representatives of these three groups elect an executive committee for the factory, and this committee is then charged with receiving the complaints, requests, and suggestions of the departmental representatives, and of discussing them with the management. The factory council thus renders the former functions of the internal committee more regular and rational; and extends them by exercising a certain control over production. According to the promoters of the system, this organism is fundamentally creative compared with the unions; for in the union the worker is regarded simply as a wage earner, whereas in the factory council he is considered as a producer. As a wage earner the worker seeks only to increase his pay; as a producer, he may come to consider his labor as a source of sovereignty and power.

The factory council does not intend to limit its action to defending the dignity and interest of the worker; it seeks to be the "nucleus of communist society based upon the sovereignty of labor" and to aid in transforming the psychology and habits of the masses in order to bring on more rapidly communism, the creator of the new society.

The factory council, which is based upon the unanimous accord of all the manual elements which take part in production, is destined to become—according to the intention of its promoters—the most effective instrument for the development of constructive ability in the working class in the pre-revolutionary period, and also an organ of economic power when the revolution shall have taken over from the employers possession of the factories and of the instruments of labor. The creation of these factory councils will not surprise those who have followed the development of the labor union movement in other countries. There is no industrial country which is not beset today by deep and far-reaching labor struggles. Now that industrialism is adapting itself to economic concessions more wisely than formerly, the working class no longer contents itself with the immediate material gain which strikes may bring. It seeks to exercise its domination, instead of that of the owners, over production. In Russia the establishment of councils became necessary because of the nationalization of industries; in Germany and Austria the same institutions have just been established. In Switzerland the movement is spreading and has already won most of the organizations. In the United States, although councils have not yet been formed, labor unionism has broken with the old Gompers tendencies and important new movements are growing up, sharpening the conflict between capitalists and working class. Everywhere the working class and its organizations are struggling fiercely to smash industrial domination and to conquer exploitation.

The Italian working class could not but move in this direction. The conflicts which have arisen between the councils and the unions cannot determine the fate and development of the new institutions. Little by little the differences are disappearing. Of course the councils in their earlier stages had faults. But their purpose cannot but be favorably received by anyone interested in the labor union movement.

Differences persist as regard practice and formation of the councils. At Turin non-union men are permitted to vote for the departmental representatives. This has given rise to lively discussion. Those favoring the franchise for non-union men—who are not, however, eligible for election as representatives—have the future in mind. The new communist society cannot be formed without the aid and support of all the workers. The absorption of non-union men into the unions is facilitated by giving them the right to vote. Opponents of the method say that among the non-union men are some who have acted as scabs during strikes. The man who has been disloyal during a strike is apathetic and indifferent in the union movement at any

time; to grant him the right to vote means helping to keep him outside of the union, because he will have the right to be represented and defended without making any sacrifice for the organization. This question of votes for non-union men became acute because the departmental representatives at Turin pro-giving to the representatives instead of to the union as es the right to name the executive committees of the

f the attempts now being made to work out a plan to jurisdictional conflicts between the unions and the coun- field practical results, the factory council, endowed with any of the functions of the unions and aided by their power, may become the organ of labor control, the organ regulating the discipline of labor and of production.

The Italian Peasant Revolt

THE *Journal des Débats* (Paris) for March 14 prints the following account from its correspondent at Florence of the recent peasant uprisings in Tuscany and the Romagna.

The Tuscan peasants have followed the example of those in other parts of Italy. They, too, are having militant organizations and strikes. . . . The peasant agitation in Tuscany started in the last electoral campaign: the Socialist and Catholic candidates competed in suggesting bolder and larger demands to the tenant farmers. Once elected or defeated, they ceased bothering themselves about the revolutionary programs elaborated in their speeches, but the peasants did not forget them. The tenant farmers of Arezzo were the first to demand revision of the *patto colonico* (contract of tenancy); others followed. The labor chambers hastily organized Socialist leagues. The chamber at Florence has founded thirty, comprising more than 7,000 peasant families. Thirty-seven thousand peasant families are enrolled in Socialist leagues in Tuscany. (These figures were given me by interested parties, and I have no means of checking them up.)

Most of the Tuscan land-owners admitted that the time had come for certain reforms. They agreed to the suppression of the forced labor (*opere*) and of the gifts in kind which have hitherto been required of the tenants; they renounced the right of evicting peasants arbitrarily; every request for cancellation of contract will henceforth be submitted to a council of arbitration consisting of equal numbers of land-owners and tenants, and presided over by a magistrate. Finally they agreed to pay two-thirds of the cost of certain fertilizers, the cost of which was formerly shared half and half. But they have not granted the principal demand, which involved association of the tenant in the technical management of the agricultural enterprise; they retain management entirely in their own hands—at least in theory, for in practice a landowner cannot introduce a new form of cultivation without the consent of his tenants. It was the application of this new contract which gave rise to the recent disturbances. But the general movement prepared by the labor chambers seems to have met defeat because of the conciliatory but energetic attitude of the land-owners. Most of the peasants say they are satisfied with the concessions obtained, and the agitation may be considered at an end.

The reform of the *patto colonico* was achieved in Tuscany without extraordinary difficulty because in this region there were only two classes in conflict, and their interests, while different, were complementary; land-owners and tenants both gain when production is regular, varied, and abundant. The day workers (*braccianti*) are few in Tuscany. The war, while enlarging the group of unemployed in all fields, scarcely added to the importance of the *braccianti* in Tuscany. It is quite different in Emilia and in the Romagna, where the agricultural day workers have long formed a large and well-organized class.

There has always been sharp opposition between the *braccianti* and the *contadini*, or tenants. About Ravenna, Imola, and Forli, the former belong to the Socialist party, the latter to the Republican party. The recent electoral battle modified this situation somewhat, while sharpening the old rivalry. Many tenants abandoned the so-called Yellow leagues to swell the ranks of the Red leagues and today make common cause with the *braccianti*. About Bologna, where the republican tradition of the Romagna is missing, the two rival organizations are Catholic and Socialist.

When the question of modifying the *patto colonico* came up last autumn, the associations of land-owners (*Agrarie*) announced their readiness to deal with the representatives of the leagues and to proceed to a joint revision of the contracts. This invitation was long left without reply. Suddenly, early in December, the labor chambers put up posters announcing conditions for new contracts, and declaring that the land-owners had five days to accept them or refuse them. The *Agrarie* gave their delegates full power to negotiate with the *contadini* and *braccianti*. But the Federation of Agricultural Laborers decided that the leagues would only deal with the land-owners individually, the right of collective bargaining being recognized only for the working class. The land-owners renewed their proposition and waited. Then the leagues ordered the tenants to discharge their proprietors. Many of them carried out the order, most of them unwillingly, protesting that they did not wish to give up the system. But what could they do? If they did not obey, their lofts and their stables would be burned; their grape-vines and olive-trees would be cut down. The leagues did not confine themselves to mere menaces; they punished the recalcitrants unmercifully.

However, the Socialist leagues realized that their position was untenable, and the Bologna labor chamber recognized the right of the delegates of the *Agrarie* to represent the land-owners. Discussion began. The demands of the tenants, dictated by the *braccianti*, were enormous: coöperative management of cultivation by the land-owner and the tillers of the soil; obligation for the tenants to employ upon their holdings a certain number of *braccianti*, taking no account of the requirements for cultivation nor of the natural aid which the more or less numerous members of the tenants' families might give them; abolition of a system by which the land-owners put planters upon uncultivated soil to prepare and cultivate it.

In the north of Italy, as here in Tuscany, the peasants, enriched by the war, have been buying land. The Socialist leagues opposed such acquisitions: in some cases they forced the tenants to cancel the contract of sale and have their deposits returned to them, on the pretext that the insufficiently cultivated land fell under the famous Visocchi Decree and should be expropriated. The weakness of the Government permitted this procedure when it did not encourage it.

The agitation in the Romagna has had disastrous consequences. In the province of Ferrara, 70,000 peasants quit work, imperiling a large part of a very fine harvest. The cattle were led to the stables, where they were left without care and without food; this caused further losses of millions of lire. The lofts burned, the animals poisoned or smoked to death in their barns, cannot be counted.

What do the agitators want? Like good theologians—and who is not a theologian in this country?—they distinguish between the final and the immediate end. The final end is the abolition of tenantry, which has been satisfactory from an economic point of view, but is detestable from a social point of view because it creates common interests between capitalists and workers and subordinates the betterment of the lot of the workers to an increase in the cost of the products, whereby the community suffers. Tenantry abolished, the land will first be lent to agricultural coöperatives, then socialized.

In the meanwhile property defends itself; the Government, bourgeois and needy, has some consideration for it. There is

only one way to strike the land-owners immediately, and that is to make it impossible for them to cultivate except at a loss—to reduce production. The secretary of a labor chamber explained it to me thus: "Our conditions are impossible. We know it. That is why we make them. The land-owners, no longer masters on their own land, forced to employ three times as much labor as is necessary, prevented from bettering or extending the land under cultivation, will be forced to quit. If they stop producing, or produce less than they could under normal conditions, they become subject to expropriation. So we hasten the coming of the necessary reform."

Lord Milner and Mohammed Said Pasha

IN answer to charges of connivance in anti-nationalist propaganda in Egypt, Mohammed Said Pasha, former Prime Minister, has issued a statement embodying an interview between himself and Lord Milner, head of the British Mission in Egypt. The interview, originally published in *Ahaly*, a native paper, was reprinted in the *Egyptian Gazette* (Alexandria) for February 11.

LORD MILNER: "I cannot understand why the Egyptians should boycott me, when I have the best of intentions toward them."

"No wonder if they do so," I said, "in consequence of the proclamation issued by the Residency and the statements made in both the House of Lords and House of Commons before you came here."

"But there was no harm in those statements."

"How is that? It is enough that they contained the word 'Protectorate.' The Egyptians know that you are coming to elaborate a system for the Protectorate, while they seek complete independence."

"But the Protectorate is not new. It was proclaimed five years ago; not one of you opened his mouth in opposition. You have thus accepted it and worked under it, and I cannot understand how you should now return to discuss it."

"Permit me to remark that the proclamation of the Protectorate five years ago, and the lack of protests against it, do not mean that rights are lost with the passing of time."

"But the country has accepted the Protectorate since that time."

"Did you see, your Lordship, Rushdi Pasha, Adli Pasha, and Sarwat Pasha?"

"Yes."

"You must have asked them and heard their answers in this respect; were they of your opinion in regard to this point?"

"No, they were of your opinion."

"This is a decisive proof against you, for these three Ministers were in power when the Protectorate was proclaimed, and they worked under it during the war, believing that it was a war necessity. I believe that they had believed with good will England's proclamation which was reported to the late Sultan Husein through Sir Milne Cheetham stating that as a result of her participation in the war Turkey had lost her right of suzerainty over Egypt, and that England would keep that right as a trust for the Egyptian people. This shows that you have kept that right as a trust in your hand until the war was over and you are now bound to restore it to the Egyptian people."

"We made no promise, and you have only to read the Proclamation again."

"I need not read it again, nor to take a promise from you. The mere statement you made in that proclamation that the right of suzerainty was a trust in your hand is a clear proof that you have to return the trust to its owner on demand, and we now ask you to do so."

"Suppose we pack up our belongings and leave in twenty-four hours, do you think Egypt will gain anything from that?"

"Nobody says that you should leave in twenty-four hours; an

arrangement may be made in this respect. But I assure you that Egypt would gain and not lose by managing its own affairs. The country remained independent for forty years from 1841 until 1882, and you supported that independence. Turk had nothing in that period in Egypt except a nominal suzerainty, which practically had no trace. You subsequently occupied Egypt, and thirty-seven years have now elapsed since occupation. In this period you have taught the country, built it up, and guided it, and is there any reason why it should not be able now to manage its own affairs? Is it reasonable after all this period and after the sacrifices she made during the war and which I need not mention to you, Egypt should not accept the Protectorate and negotiate with you regarding the elaboration of a system for it?"

"I am ready to listen to any one and discuss matters outside the Protectorate."

"If so, please announce your opinion to the nation."

"I have said that to every one I have met. I repeat to you today, and you may tell the Egyptians that I am prepared to listen to their statements and to enlarge the scope of my mission."

"Nobody believes me so long as the proclamation of Lord Allenby and the statements made in the Parliament hold good, and none but you can abolish their effect by a clear declaration."

"I am ready to explain in writing that I agree to discuss matters with everybody in a wider circle, casting the Protectorate aside; in other words, throwing it from the window."

"Would you cast it or throw it from the window definitely or temporarily?"

"No. I put it aside so that I may have free discussion, for I wish to come to an understanding with enlightened people in Egypt like you, and like those whom I saw before, and others—the rich and notables—so that I may reach an agreement which could be confirmed by the General Assembly before it is submitted to my Government."

"First of all, we have no General Assembly, and secondly, it is all useless. No one can approach you or discuss matters with you so long as the Protectorate remains."

"In that case I have another mode of action, which is to elaborate the system we find best without consulting any of the Egyptians, and so bring the question to an end. But I do not like to follow this method."

"Yes, it is very easy to make the system you want and to carry it out without consulting any Egyptian, but I do not think that a great and experienced man like you will be inclined to adopt this method, and so force a community 14,000,000 in number to bow to a system of government it hates and refuses to accept. Believe me that by following that attitude you and your Government will lose more than we do. But why should you not answer the Egyptians' demand? You need us and we need you; let us come to an understanding."

"But you do not wish to come to an accord with us. I have come now to hear your demands, and you do not like to say anything. How could we come to an understanding?"

"Your boycotters see that you reverse the question. As a fact the Egyptians say, for instance, that this table (there was a table before us) belongs to us, and it is a trust in your hand, and say to you, we want to have it back. So it is you now who have to say on what conditions you will return the trust, and what are the interests for which you require guarantees, such as the way to India, the Public Debt, the foreign capitulations, etc. You can begin by stating your demands, otherwise it is very difficult to convince the Egyptians to enter into negotiations with you, especially as they have all agreed to authorize the Egyptian Delegation under the presidency of Saad Zaghloul Pasha to conduct negotiations on their behalf, and you refuse to acknowledge the Delegation."

"I know neither Saad Pasha nor the Delegation. What I want is to discuss matters with the enlightened Egyptians and men of standing here."

"Such Egyptians are all backing up the Egyptian Delegation, and as you are prepared to listen to their statements, I cannot see why you make a difference between those who join the delegation and those who do not. Are they not Egyptians?" I do not object to listening to them, but not as a delegation, only as individuals. I am assured that the boycott has begun to give way, and there are classes of the Egyptians who are desirous of making statements to the Mission."

But I believe that. I meet with people almost of all ages and I am in a position to assure you that they are all avoiding the boycott. If any individuals appear to be of different opinions, these individuals cannot be of any standing in the community, and public opinion sets no value to their views. You have a strong proof before you—the protest made by the Ulemas of the Azhar. . . .

Yes, the incident which led to the intervention of the Ulemas this time was regrettable. What is Saad Pasha now doing in France, and what could be expected to be achieved at his hands? The Egyptian people ought to be advised that all this is in vain, and that we—both the English and the Egyptians—must agree."

"Saad Pasha is doing a duty. If he has not yet done a definite deed, circumstances give him hope of a wide scope. As a matter of fact, the opposition of the American Senate in regard to the ratification of the peace treaty, the complication of the Fiume affair, the troubles in Syria and Arabia, the delaying of the conclusion of peace with Turkey, the delaying of the signing of the treaty definitely by the Entente Powers, the Bolshevik movement in Russia, the Socialist movement in Italy, the troubles in Ireland, India, and Central Asia, and the series of strikes and other sorts of troubles and unrest in the whole world—all help to widen the scope of the Egyptians who rely upon the Egyptian Delegation and the efforts it is making for the attainment of complete independence. It is impossible to advise the Egyptian community to enter into negotiations with you before the removal of the Protectorate."

Events of the Week

APRIL 3. A conference held in Tokio of representatives of Japanese and American business men voted to recommend to Tokio and Washington the formation of a commission to investigate the land dispute in California and all other allied questions and to formulate recommendations for a definite solution. Ambassador Alexander and Premier Shibusawa endorse and express confidence in the plan.

APRIL 4. Prince Feisal, recently proclaimed King of Syria, according to a dispatch dated March 29 to the *Daily Mail* (London) from Damascus, has virtually dropped his demand that the Allies recognize the independence of Syria. The Syrian Government's position seems precarious and Feisal has published an appeal to President Wilson to help the Arabs attain unity in Syria.

APRIL 7. On account of the scarcity of print paper the Italian Government has decreed that from April 18 until further notice newspapers shall be restricted to two pages.

A Milan dispatch to the *New York Call* reports that the union workmen there have voted to refuse to unload American ships in protest against the persecution of the I. W. W. in the United States.

APRIL 9. Neutral countries, Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries, which have large outstanding accounts against Russia, will hold a conference at Geneva next week to discuss possibilities of securing payment of Russian State and trade debts.

APRIL 10. The State of Sonora at a secret session of the State Congress voted to withdraw temporarily from the Republic of Mexico, and to resist with armed forces any attempt of the Carranza Government to send troops into the State.

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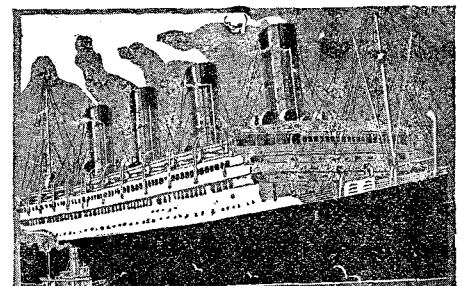
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Wrong mental attitudes will therefore in time destroy the physical. YOU CAN'T DOUBT OUR GOVERNMENT REPORT, THAT'S SURE. The miserable state you are now in and have been trying through physical means only to throw off may primarily be due to wrong thought. HERE IS HELP FOR YOU. LEAVITT-SCIENCE HAS FOUND THE WAY TO CONQUER THESE ENEMIES OF YOURS through combining the mental and physical agencies nature has furnished us for development. All weakness can be put to flight and health, strength, happiness, and success established. LEAVITT-SCIENCE teaches the simple laws of life, opens wide the door of success and makes you the strong, self-reliant person you should be.

OUR GOVERNMENT USES SIMILAR METHODS

The same reëducational, reawakening, and redeveloping methods I employ are used by the governments of the United States, England, and France, in treating the cases of WRECKED NERVES, SHELL-SHOCK, FEAR, LACK OF SELF-CONFIDENCE AND SELF-CONTROL, and GENERAL NERVOUSNESS developed in connection with our present war. Send me 24 cents in stamps for my book LEAVITT-SCIENCE, which also entitles you to a free diagnosis of your case. You will then know just what your handicaps have been and I will tell you JUST how to overcome them. I can be of material help to you. Will you let me be writing today?

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